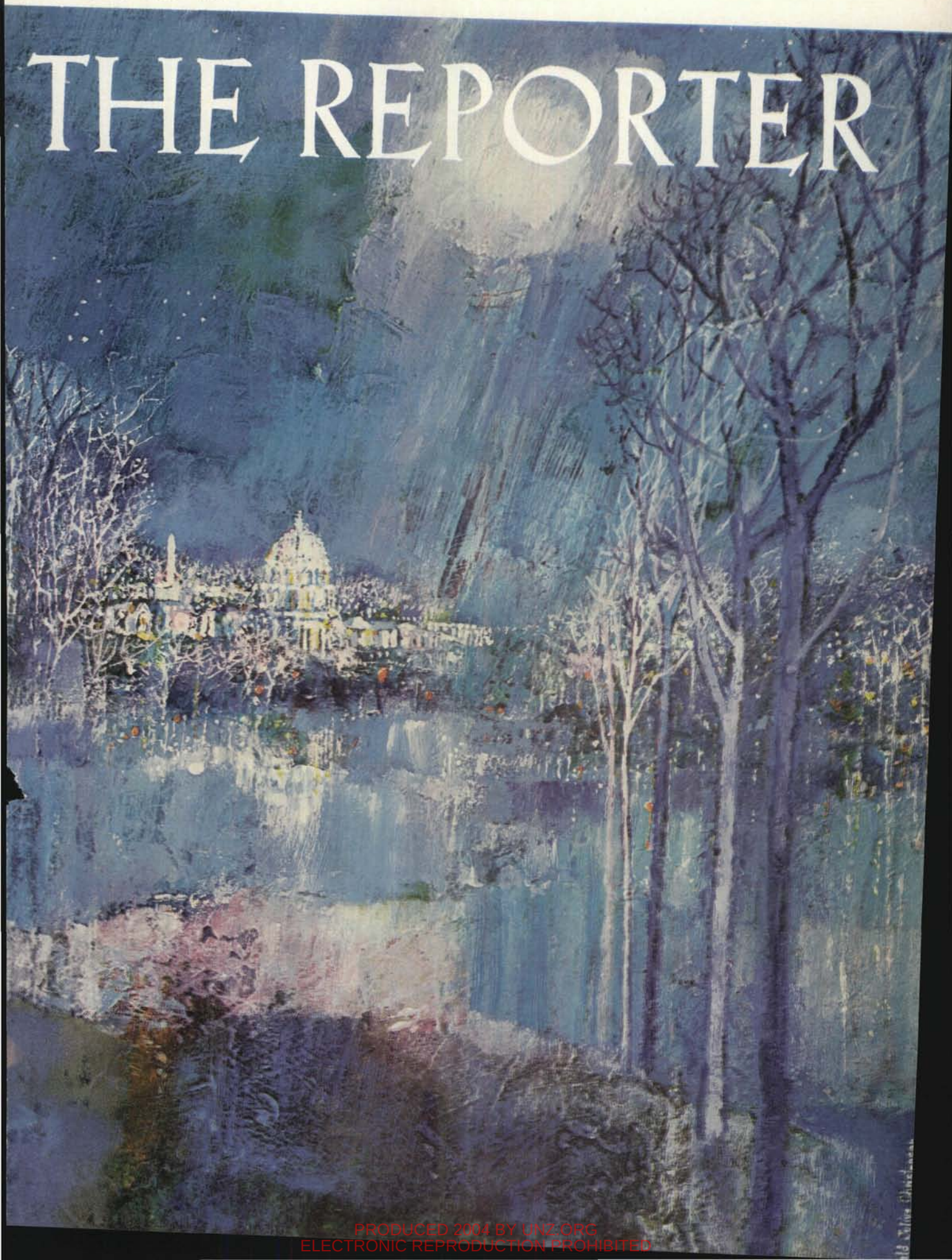
The State of the Union

January 27, 1966 35¢

THE REPORTER



PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

One reason your Bell phone will do even more for you in the future is that Western Electric is part of the Bell System.

Some time in the future you'll be able to: (a) dial frequently called numbers using one or two digits; (b) have your telephone calls follow you when you visit across town; (c) add a third party to your phone call simply by dialing his number; (d) eliminate busy signals: you'll hear a "beep" that tells you a second call is waiting; and (e) do a lot of other things with your phone you never dreamed possible.

But if all this is in the future for you, it's very much in the present for Western Electric. It has been, for some time.

Making major changes in anything as vast and complex as the nationwide Bell telephone network takes a lot of advanced planning and an enormous amount of work. That's why, together with Bell Telephone Laboratories, Western Electric has devoted so much time and money to bringing these services to you.

We have developed equipment for modifying existing dial offices. We have also put in over 2000 man-years of work and spent more than $100,000,000 developing a revolutionary new Electronic Switching System (ESS).

And today we are spending more millions setting up to manufacture the complex and precise equipment the system requires.

A big risk for a manufacturer to take? Yes, but only by such substantial investments can we bring constant improvements to your phone service.

This goal is as important to Western Electric as it is to your Bell telephone company. We're on the same Bell System team. We have been since 1882, working together with the same purpose: to bring you the world's finest telephone service at low cost.

Western Electric
MANUFACTURING & SUPPLY UNIT OF THE BELL SYSTEM

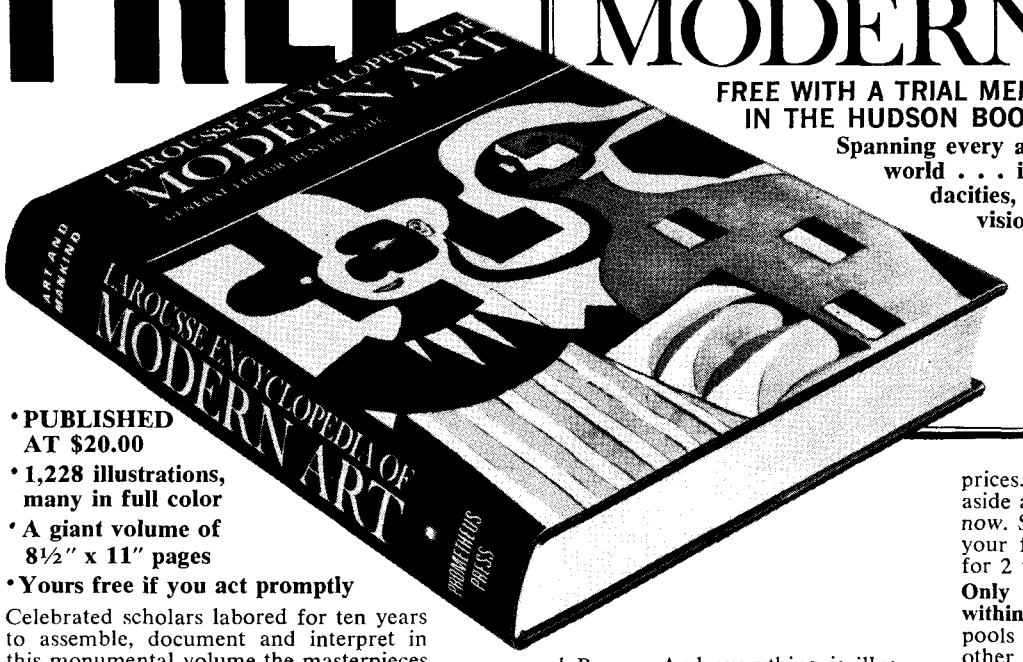
PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FREE

The monumental, twenty dollar LAROUSSE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF MODERN ART

FREE WITH A TRIAL MEMBERSHIP IN THE HUDSON BOOK CLUB

Spanning every aspect of art in the modern world . . . its splendors, surprises, audacities, triumphs, scandals and new vision of mankind . . . from its roots in the French Revolution, the Orient and Africa, through all its schools, fads, movements and controversies, to the contemporary masters of Action Painting and Pop.



- **PUBLISHED AT $20.00**
- **1,228 illustrations, many in full color**
- **A giant volume of 8½" x 11" pages**
- **Yours free if you act promptly**

Celebrated scholars labored for ten years to assemble, document and interpret in this monumental volume the masterpieces of Romanticism, Realism, Impressionism, Post-Impressionism, Art Nouveau, Fauvism, Cubism, Dada, Surrealism, Abstract Expressionism, Pop Art, and all the adventurous way-stations and byways in between. **(Did you know that Marcel Duchamp was doing authentic "Pop" in 1917? See page 337.)**

EVERY MODERN ARTIST you've ever read about, wondered about, admired, been shocked or inspired by, is here at your fingertips . . . from Piranesi to Picasso . . . from David and Ingres to Cezanne and Pissarro, to Rivers, Rauschenberg and Johns. Every architect from Richardson and Sullivan and Wright to Gaudí, Johnson and Breuer. And everything is illustrated and illumined by an incomparable assemblage of painting, photography, prints, furniture, porcelain, tapestry, glass, goldwork, silverwork, textiles, wallpaper, sculpture, kinetic sculpture, mobile sculpture, spatial sculpture, steel relief, collages, interior design, cinema design, and every other technique through which modern art has captivated and staggered the mind of man.

Experimental Membership Offer

LAROUSSE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF MODERN ART is an example of the important reading offered regularly to members of the Hudson Book Club at reduced prices. Limited quantities have been set aside as Free Gifts for members who join *now*. Send for yours today, together with your first selection from the list below, for 2 weeks no-risk trial.

Only 3 more selections need be taken within one year. The Hudson Book Club pools your buying power with that of other discerning readers who share your taste. By means of reduced prices for Members and free Bonus Books, it saves you an average of 50% on the very books you would otherwise purchase at full price. Choose your first selection and mail coupon today while free copies of LAROUSSE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF MODERN ART are still available.

FREE IF YOU ENCLOSE PAYMENT NOW!

FORCE OF CIRCUMSTANCE by Simone de Beauvoir. The woman who has spoken more daringly, more profoundly of the life of the Second Sex writes of her own life. 658 pp.
Published at $10.00!

CHOOSE YOUR FIRST SELECTION NOW and receive free your $20.00 LAROUSSE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF MODERN ART

DEITIES AND DOLPHINS. By Nelson Glueck. The lost world of the Nabataeans, exotic desert cousins of the Jews, whose lush Semito-Hellenic capital "Petra, the rose-red city, half as old as time" is one of the wonders of archaeology. 662 pp. (7¾" x 10¼"). 484 illus.
List, $15.00 **Members' Price $7.95**

The Illustrated Edition of DOCTOR ZHIVAGO. By Boris Pasternak. The 130 illustrations by Alexander Alexeieff were praised unreservedly by Pasternak himself. The complete text richly printed in a luxuriously oversized volume of 780 pp. handsomely boxed in a matching illustrated slipcase.
List, $12.50 **Members' Price $5.95**

A TREASURY OF ART MASTERPIECES. Ed. by Thomas Craven. The most highly praised art book of our time in a magnificent new edition. 650 reproductions (161 in full color) of the world's greatest paintings.
List, $8.95 **Members' Price $5.95**

LAROUSSE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF BYZANTINE AND MEDIEVAL ART. Ed. by Rene Huyghe. The art of 1000 years in a highly prolific age. 416 pp., over 1000 illus., 36 in full color.
List, $17.95 **Members' Price $9.95**

LAROUSSE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF PREHISTORIC AND ANCIENT ART. Ed. by Rene Huyghe. One monumental volume spanning all the ages, cultures and races of mankind from the dawn of human society to the Fall of Rome. 750 illustrations, many in color.
List, $17.95 **Members' Price $9.95**

PSYCHOPATHIA SEXUALIS. By Richard von Kraft-Ebing. The first all-English edition of a classic work on sexual deviation; over 200 case studies. 512 pp.
List, $7.95 **Members' Price $5.95**

DANTE. By Thomas G. Bergin. A brilliant new account of Dante's life and the turbulent Florence of his time, with perceptive analyses of each of his works and special emphasis on **The Divine Comedy.** "The best general introduction to Dante ever written in English." —**Time**
List, $6.50 **Members' Price $4.95**

REPORT TO GRECO. By Nikos Kazantzakis. Important lyrical autobiography and life-work summation by the author of **Zorba the Greek** and **The Last Temptation of Christ.** 512 pp.
List, $7.50 **Members' Price $4.95**

MARQUIS DE SADE. Ed. by Seaver and Wainhouse. De Sade's major works including **Philosophy in the Bedroom** and **Justine,** in their first complete, unbowdlerized English translation. 776 pp.
List, $15.00 **Members' Price $9.95**

LAROUSSE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF RENAISSANCE AND BAROQUE ART. Ed. by Rene Huyghe. The monumental arts and beauty from the birth of modern man: da Vinci, Rembrandt, Velasquez et al. 1214 illus., many in full color.
List, $20.00 **Members' Price $9.95**

THIEF'S JOURNAL. By Jean Genet. Strange hymn to inverted passions. "I do not fear to call this book the most beautiful Genet has written." —Jean Paul Sartre's Fwd.
List, $6.00 **Members' Price $4.95**

ABU SIMBEL. By Wm. MacQuitty. Particularly handsome photo-and-text memorial to the artistic glory and legendary treasure of Ramses the Great's fabulous tomb-monument. 121 photos. 47 in full color.
List, $15.00 **Members' Price $7.95**

LAROUSSE WORLD MYTHOLOGY. Ed. by Pierre Grimal. Monumental presentation of all the mythologies of mankind with 621 illus. plus 49 in full color. 600 pp., 8½" x 11¾".
List, $25.00 **Members' Price $12.50**

EROS DENIED. By Wayland Young. A history of sexual behavior. "A remarkable, brilliant and revolutionary book."—J. Donald Adams
List, $7.50 **Members' Price $5.45**

THE NEW GOLDEN BOUGH. By Sir James G. Frazer; ed. by T. H. Gaster. Completely revised and annotated in the light of recent anthropological discoveries. "Gaster's efforts enable one to appreciate Frazer anew."—Clyde Kluckhohn. 768 pp.
List, $10.00 **Members' Price $6.95**

LA BATARDE. By Violette Leduc. Best-selling autobiography lauded by Sartre, Genet and **The New Yorker's** "Paris Letter"—a poignant, blazingly frank **Succes de Scandale** that has sold over 200,000 copies in France. 506 pp.
List, $6.95 **Members' Price $4.95**

THE TREASURE OF OUR TONGUE. By Lincoln Barnett. A fascinating account of the English language and its universal importance today.
List, $5.95 **Members' Price $4.75**

POP ART. By John Rublowsky. First comprehensive exposition of the Pop Art movement—an unabashed revelation of the beauties of the everyday world. 205 photos, 41 in full color, by Ken Heyman. 8¼" x 10½".
List, $12.50 **Members' Price $7.95**

REPORT FROM A CHINESE VILLAGE. By Jan Myrdal. On the popular level—the Revolution, Civil War and success of the Red regime—"A new classic makes its appearance"—Harrison Salisbury. 73 illus.
List, $6.95 **Members' Price $4.95**

NO MONEY NEED BE SENT NOW UNLESS YOU WISH

HUDSON BOOK CLUB, 131 VARICK STREET, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10013

Please enroll me as a Trial Member of the Hudson Book Club and send me Free the LAROUSSE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF MODERN ART.

As my first selection, send me, at the low Members' Price:

_____
(ENTER YOUR FIRST SELECTION HERE)

If for any reason I decide not to remain a member, I may return these books within 2 weeks and my membership will be cancelled without cost or obligation.

If I elect to remain a member I need choose only 3 more books at reduced prices during the coming year, and will be under no further obligation. Thereafter, every 4 books I accept from the Club will entitle me to a free Bonus Book of my choice.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

☐ Please bill me for my First Selection plus shipping charge.

☐ My check for First Selection is enclosed (Club pays shipping). Please send free copy of FORCE OF CIRCUMSTANCE.

MR-118

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

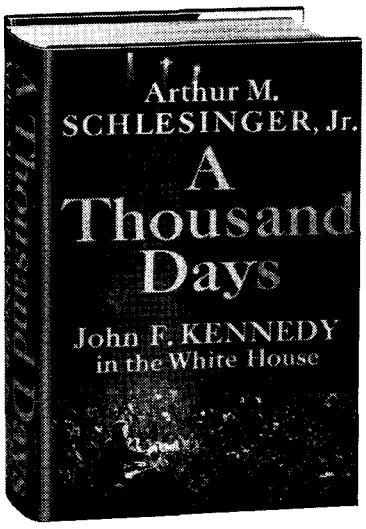
A SHORT TRIAL SUBSCRIPTION TO THE BOOK-OF-THE-MONTH CLUB WILL DEMONSTRAT

These three...OR *any three*

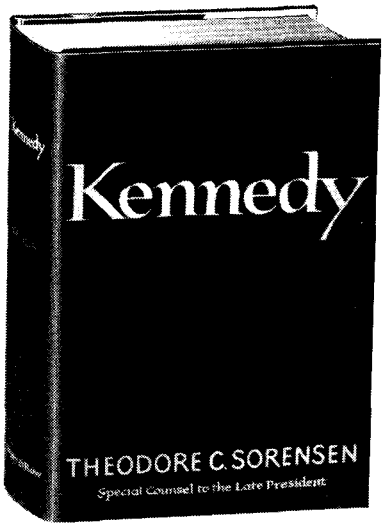
OF THE BOOKS LISTED ON THESE PAGES...

FOR ONLY $1

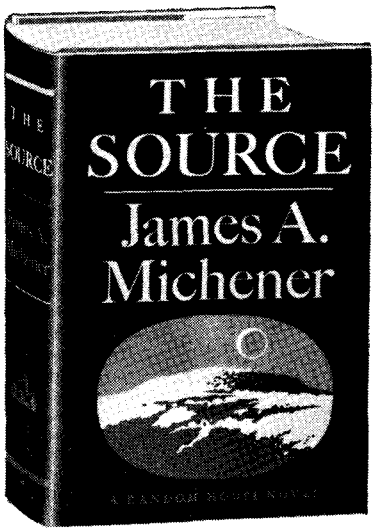
THE TRIAL: SIMPLY BUY THREE ADDITIONAL BOOKS WITHIN A YEAR AT THE MEMBERS' PRICES, WHICH AVERAGE 20% BELOW RETAIL PRICES



278. A THOUSAND DAYS
John F. Kennedy in the White House
by ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER, JR.
(Retail price $9)



279. KENNEDY
by THEODORE C. SORENSEN
(Retail price $10)



235. THE SOURCE
by JAMES A. MICHENER
Illustrated
(Retail price $7.95)

203. UP THE DOWN STAIRCASE
by BEL KAUFMAN
(Retail price $4.95)

280. THE AGE OF VOLTAIRE
by WILL *and* ARIEL DURANT
Illustrated
(Retail price $12)

234. THE OXFORD HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE
by SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON
Illustrated
(Retail price $12.50)

261. NEVER CALL RETREAT
by BRUCE CATTON
Maps. (Retail price $7.50)

259. MY TWELVE YEARS WITH JOHN F. KENNEDY *by* EVELYN LINCOLN
(Retail price $5.50)

286. THE WHITE HOUSE AND ITS THIRTY-FOUR FAMILIES
by AMY LA FOLLETTE JENSEN
Illustrated
(Retail price $12.50)

287. THE DOUBLE IMAGE
by HELEN MAC INNES
(Retail price $5.75)

283. LOST EMPIRES *by* J. B. PRIESTLEY
(Retail price $5.95)

276. THE COLLECTED STORIES OF KATHERINE ANNE PORTER
[Author of *Ship of Fools*]
(Retail price $5.95)

431. THE RISE AND FALL OF THE THIRD REICH *by* WILLIAM L. SHIRER
(Retail price $12.50)

262. MANCHILD IN THE PROMISED LAND
by CLAUDE BROWN
(Retail price $5.95)

198. FUNERAL IN BERLIN
by LEN DEIGHTON
(Retail price $4.95)

232. A DICTIONARY OF MODERN ENGLISH USAGE *by* H. W. FOWLER
Revised edition
(Retail price $5)

205. THE AMBASSADOR
by MORRIS L. WEST
(Retail price $4.95)

199. DON'T STOP THE CARNIVAL
by HERMAN WOUK
(Retail price $4.95)

256. REPORT TO GRECO
by NIKOS KAZANTZAKIS
(Retail price $7.50)

200. A COVENANT WITH DEATH
by STEPHEN BECKER
(Retail price $4.50)

633. THE RECTOR OF JUSTIN
by LOUIS AUCHINCLOSS
(Retail price $4.95)

597. THE VENETIAN AFFAIR
by HELEN MAC INNES
(Retail price $5.95)

148. THE ITALIANS *by* LUIGI BARZINI
(Retail price $6.95)

236. WANDERERS EASTWARD, WANDERERS WEST
by KATHLEEN WINSOR
(Retail price $7.95)

106. REMINISCENCES
by GENERAL DOUGLAS MAC ARTHUR
Illustrated
(Retail price $6.95)

195. PATTON: Ordeal and Triumph
by LADISLAS FARAGO
Maps. (Retail price $9.95)

253. MYTHOLOGY *by* EDITH HAMILTON
Illustrated
(Retail price $5)

213. WILD HERITAGE
by SALLY CARRIGHAR
Illustrated
(Retail price $5.95)

184. THE NEW MEANING OF TREASON
by REBECCA WEST
(Retail price $6.95)

201. WE ARE NOT ALONE
by WALTER SULLIVAN
(Retail price $6.95)

231. COMPLETE POEMS OF ROBERT FROST (Retail price [illegible])

111. MY AUTOBIOGRAPHY
by CHARLES CHAPLIN
Illustrated
(Retail price $6.95)

127. THE MAN *by* IRVING WALLACE
(Retail price $5.95)

640. THE INVISIBLE GOVERNMENT
by DAVID WISE
and THOMAS B. ROSS
(Retail price $5.95)

625. A MOVEABLE FEAST
by ERNEST HEMINGWAY
Illustrated
(Retail price $4.95)

521. MY LIFE IN COURT *by* LOUIS NIZER
(Retail price $5.95)

207. FRIDAY THE RABBI SLEPT LATE
by HARRY KEMELMAN
(Retail price $3.95)

105. FIVE TIMES MAIGRET
5 Novels *by* GEORGES SIMENON
(Retail price $5.95)

109. THE LONG WHITE NIGHT
by KATHARINE SCHERMAN
(Retail price $4.95)

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

OW RELIABLY MEMBERSHIP KEEPS YOU FROM MISSING THE BOOKS YOU INTEND TO READ

JUST FOR SELF-APPRAISAL: Note the books you have intended to read or to add to your library but failed to . . . through overbusyness

206. JOURNAL OF A SOUL
by POPE JOHN XXIII
Illustrated
(Retail price $7.95)

616. PROFILES IN COURAGE
by JOHN F. KENNEDY
Memorial Edition
(Retail price $5)

615. VON RYAN'S EXPRESS
by DAVID WESTHEIMER
(Retail price $4.95)

632. THE LIFE AND DEATH OF LENIN
by ROBERT PAYNE
Illustrated
(Retail price $8.50)

630. TOM JONES *by* HENRY FIELDING
Illustrated *by* LAWRENCE BEALL SMITH
(Retail price $7.50)

627. AMERICANS ON EVEREST
by JAMES RAMSEY ULLMAN
Illustrated
(Retail price $8.95)

635. GIRL FROM FITCHBURG
by BERNARDINE K. SCHERMAN
(Retail price $3.95)

623. THE DEPUTY *by* ROLF HOCHHUTH
(Retail price $5.95)

620. THE INCONGRUOUS SPY
2 Novels *by* JOHN LE CARRÉ
(Retail price $5.95)

618. THE MARTYRED *by* RICHARD E. KIM
(Retail price $4.50)

619. WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE
A Biography *by* A. L. ROWSE
Illustrated
(Retail price $7.50)

617. THE WAPSHOT SCANDAL
by JOHN CHEEVER
(Retail price $4.95)

258. A HISTORY OF THE JEWS
by ABRAM LEON SACHAR
Maps. (Retail price $7.95)

141. THE GATHERING STORM
by WINSTON S. CHURCHILL
Vol. I of *The Second World War*
(Retail price $6.50)

142. THEIR FINEST HOUR
by WINSTON S. CHURCHILL
Vol. II. (Retail price $6.50)

143. THE GRAND ALLIANCE
by WINSTON S. CHURCHILL
Vol. III. (Retail price $6.50)

144. THE HINGE OF FATE
by WINSTON S. CHURCHILL
Vol. IV. (Retail price $6.50)

145. CLOSING THE RING
by WINSTON S. CHURCHILL
Vol. V. (Retail price $6.50)

146. TRIUMPH AND TRAGEDY
by WINSTON S. CHURCHILL
Vol. VI. (Retail price $6.50)

494. GILT-EDGED BONDS
3 James Bond Novels
by IAN FLEMING
(Retail price $4.95)

254. MORE GILT-EDGED BONDS
3 James Bond Novels
by IAN FLEMING
(Retail price $5.95)

277. BONDED FLEMING *by* IAN FLEMING
(Retail price $5.75)

448. ABRAHAM LINCOLN: The Prairie Years AND The War Years
by CARL SANDBURG
1-vol. edition. Illustrated
(Retail price $7.50)

209. FEAR ON TRIAL
by JOHN HENRY FAULK
(Retail price $6.50)

446. THE FASCINATING WORLD OF ASTRONOMY
by ROBERT S. RICHARDSON
Illustrated. (Retail price $5.95)

202. THE WIND IN THE WILLOWS
by KENNETH GRAHAME
Illustrated *by* E. H. SHEPARD
(Retail price $6)

443. THE DECLINE AND FALL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE *by* EDWARD GIBBON
1-vol. abridgment *by* D. M. LOW
(Retail price $8)

260. THE OXFORD DICTIONARY OF QUOTATIONS. (Retail price $11)

118. PETER FREUCHEN'S BOOK OF THE SEVEN SEAS
Illustrated. (Retail price $8.95)

607. THE AMERICAN WAY OF DEATH
by JESSICA MITFORD
(Retail price $4.95)

553. TRAVELS WITH CHARLEY
by JOHN STEINBECK
(Retail price $4.95)

406. INTRIGUE: The Great Spy Novels of Eric Ambler (Retail price $5.95)

487. THE SHORT STORIES OF ERNEST HEMINGWAY. (Retail price $6)

502. THE COMING FURY
by BRUCE CATTON
Maps. (Retail price $7.50)

559. YOUNGBLOOD HAWKE
by HERMAN WOUK
(Retail price $7.95)

563. FAIL-SAFE *by* EUGENE BURDICK *and* HARVEY WHEELER
(Retail price $4.95)

581. THE LIVING SEA
by JACQUES-YVES COUSTEAU *with* JAMES DUGAN
Illustrated. (Retail price $6.50)

189. THE NEW OXFORD BOOK OF ENGLISH VERSE
(Retail price $7.50)

190. THE OXFORD BOOK OF AMERICAN VERSE
(Retail price $7)

161. JOY OF COOKING
by IRMA S. ROMBAUER *and* MARION R. BECKER
Illustrated. (Retail price $6.50)

169. THE COMPLETE BOOK OF FURNITURE REPAIR AND REFINISHING
by RALPH PARSONS KINNEY
Illustrated. (Retail price $4.50)

407. ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CONCERT MUSIC *by* DAVID EWEN
(Retail price $7.50)

156. ENCYCLOPEDIA OF THE OPERA
by DAVID EWEN
1963 revised edition
(Retail price $7.50)

153. STANDARD HANDBOOK OF SYNONYMS, ANTONYMS AND PREPOSITIONS *by* JAMES C. FERNALD
(Retail price $3.95)

154. AN ENCYCLOPEDIA OF WORLD HISTORY
Edited *by* WILLIAM L. LANGER
(Retail price $10)

155. ENCYCLOPEDIA OF AMERICAN HISTORY
Edited *by* RICHARD B. MORRIS
(Retail price $8.95)

611. GOREN'S BRIDGE COMPLETE
by CHARLES H. GOREN
1963 revised edition
(Retail price $5.95)

179. HOW TO CLEAN EVERYTHING
by ALMA CHESNUT MOORE
(Retail price $3.75)

BOOK-DIVIDENDS: SOMETHING FOR EVERY READING FAMILY TO KNOW ABOUT

THE EXPERIMENTAL MEMBERSHIP suggested here will not only prove, *by your own actual experience*, how effectually membership in the Book-of-the-Month Club can keep you from missing, through oversight or overbusyness, books you fully intend to read; it will also demonstrate another equally important advantage enjoyed by members: Book-Dividends. Through this unique profit-sharing system Book-of-the-Month Club members can regularly receive valuable library volumes—at a small fraction of their price—simply by buying the books they would buy anyway. The offer described here really represents "advance Book-Dividends" earned by the purchase of the three books you engage to buy later.

If you continue after this experimental membership, you will receive, *with every Club choice you buy*, a Book-Dividend Certificate. Each Certificate, together with a nominal sum, **usually $1.00 or $1.50**—occasionally more for unusually expensive volumes—can be redeemed for a Book-Dividend which you may choose from over a hundred fine volumes whose retail prices average $7. Since its inauguration the almost incredible sum of **over $345,000,000 worth of books (retail value) has been received by Club members through this unique plan.**

BOOK-OF-THE-MONTH CLUB, Inc. **A157-1-1**
345 Hudson Street, New York 14, N. Y.

Please enroll me as a member of the Book-of-the-Month Club and send me the three volumes whose numbers I have indicated in boxes below, billing me $1.00 for all three volumes. I agree to purchase at least three additional monthly Selections—or Alternates—during the first year I am a member. I have the right to cancel my membership any time after buying these three books. If I continue after the trial, I am to receive a Book-Dividend Certificate with every Selection—or Alternate—I buy under the system described at left. (A small charge is added to all shipments to cover postage and mailing expense.) **PLEASE NOTE:** Occasionally the Club offers two or more books at *a special combined price*. Such purchases are counted as a single book in fulfilling the membership obligation.

INDICATE BY NUMBER THE THREE BOOKS YOU WANT

[ ] [ ] [ ]

MR. / MRS. / MISS .....
(Please print plainly)

Address.....

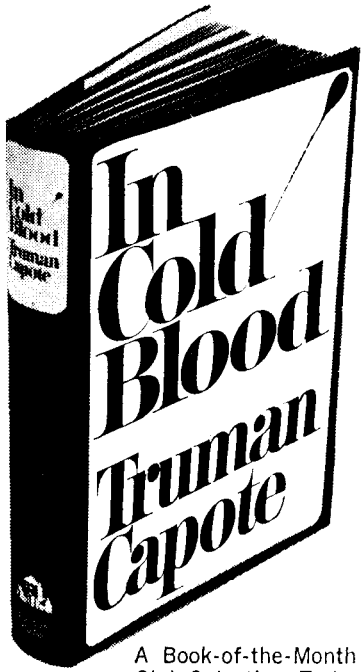
City.....*Zone*.....*State*..... 6-55

The trademarks BOOK-OF-THE-MONTH CLUB *and* BOOK-DIVIDEND *are registered by Book-of-the-Month Club, Inc., in the U.S. Patent Office and in Canada.*

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

JUST PUBLISHED

Truman Capote's true account of a multiple murder and its consequences



A Book-of-the-Month Club Selection. To be produced as a major motion picture by Columbia Pictures.

$5.95 now at your bookstore

RANDOM HOUSE

THE REPORTER

THE MAGAZINE OF FACTS AND IDEAS

MAX ASCOLI, *Editor and Publisher*

Executive Editor, Philip Horton *Managing Editor,* Donald A. Allan
Senior Editor, Derek Morgan *Washington Editor,* Meg Greenfield
Art Director, Reg Massie *Literary Editor,* Nora Magid
Associate Editors: Robert S. Gallagher, Robert Cowley *Copy Editor,* Elizabeth Stille
Writers: Claire Sterling, Edmond Taylor, George Bailey
Staff: Elizabeth Parsons (*Asst. to the Editor*), Louisa Messolonghites (*Asst. to Mng. Ed.*), Ruth Ames (*Librarian*), John A. Anderson, Jr., Lee Culpepper, Elizabeth N. Layne
General Manager, John J. Borghi
Circulation Manager, George Hinckley *Director of Advertising,* Roger J. Lederer
Director of Promotion, Shirley Katzander *Production Manager,* Rudolph Ford
Controller, Anthony E. Lanza *Asst. Circ. Mgr.,* Natalie Schwalb
Published by The Reporter Magazine Company, Nathan W. Levin, President

VOLUME 34, NO. 2 **JANUARY 27, 1966**

THE REPORTER'S NOTES 14

The State of the Union

THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH—AN EDITORIAL . . . . . *Max Ascoli* 22

BACK FROM VIETNAM . . . . . *Edmond Taylor* 23

THE HO CHI MINH TRAIL AND OUR THAI BUILDUP . . . . . *Denis Warner* 26

RHODE ISLAND'S MISSPENT YOUTH . . . . . *John M. Berry* 29

THE MYSTIC MAYOR, AND FANFANI OUTFOXED . . . . . *Claire Sterling* 34

CANADA GUARDS ITS WATER AGAINST OUR BIG THIRST . . . . . *Dillon O'Leary* 36

A MISSISSIPPI MAYOR FIGHTS THE KLAN . . . . . *Arlie Schardt* 39

THE ANTI-COMMUNIST CRUSADE OF INDONESIA'S MOSLEMS . . . . . *Donald Kirk* 41

Views & Reviews

JAPAN JOINS THE HIPSTER INTERNATIONAL . . . . . *Herbert Passin* 45

THE AGONY OF THE CARTOON . . . . . *Hortense Calisher* 48

BRAVE NEW GENERATION . . . . . *Roland Gelatt* 50

PHAROS (POEM) . . . . . *Nancy Price* 51

CARTOON . . . . . *Fernando Krahn* 52

Books:

'OUR GREATEST LIVING MAN OF LETTERS' . . . . . *Richard Kostelanetz* 53

FROM DA VINCI TO DETROIT . . . . . *Hennig Cohen* 55

FLAWED DIAMOND . . . . . *Jay Jacobs* 57

THE REPORTER PUZZLE 10

THE REPORTER, January 27, 1966, Volume 34, No. 2. Second-class postage paid at New York, New York, and at Dayton, Ohio. Published every other Thursday except for omission of two summer issues by The Reporter Magazine Company, 660 Madison Avenue, New York, N. Y. 10021. © 1966 by The Reporter Magazine Company. All rights reserved under Pan-American Copyright Convention. Subscription prices, United States and U. S. Possessions: One year $7, Two years $11, Three years $14. Additional postage for Canada and Pan-American Union, $.50 per year; all other countries, $1.00 per year. Please give four weeks' notice when changing address, giving old and new address. **Send notice of undelivered copies on Form 3579 to: The Reporter, McCall St., Dayton, Ohio 45401.** Indexed in *Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature* and *Public Affairs Information Service.*

Manuscripts or artwork submitted to The Reporter should be accompanied by addressed envelope and return postage. The publisher assumes no responsibility for the return of unsolicited manuscripts or artwork.

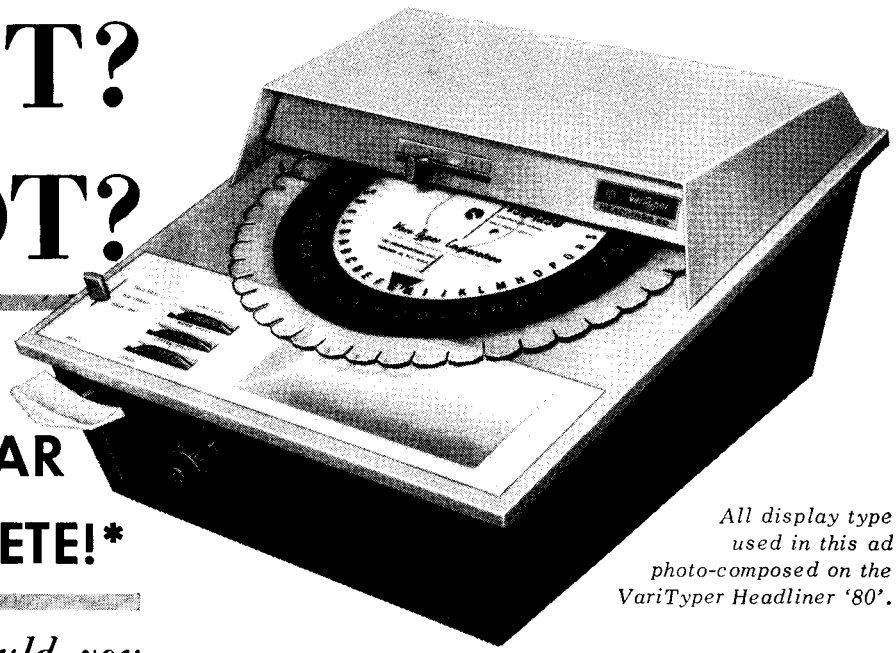
Editorial and Business Office: 660 Madison Avenue, New York, N. Y. 10021; Phone: TEmpleton 2-8800. Washington Office: 1750 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006; (202) 298-8186.

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE NEW VariTyper® HEADLINER 80

LEASE IT? WHY NOT?

...IT COSTS LESS THAN ONE DOLLAR PER DAY, COMPLETE!*



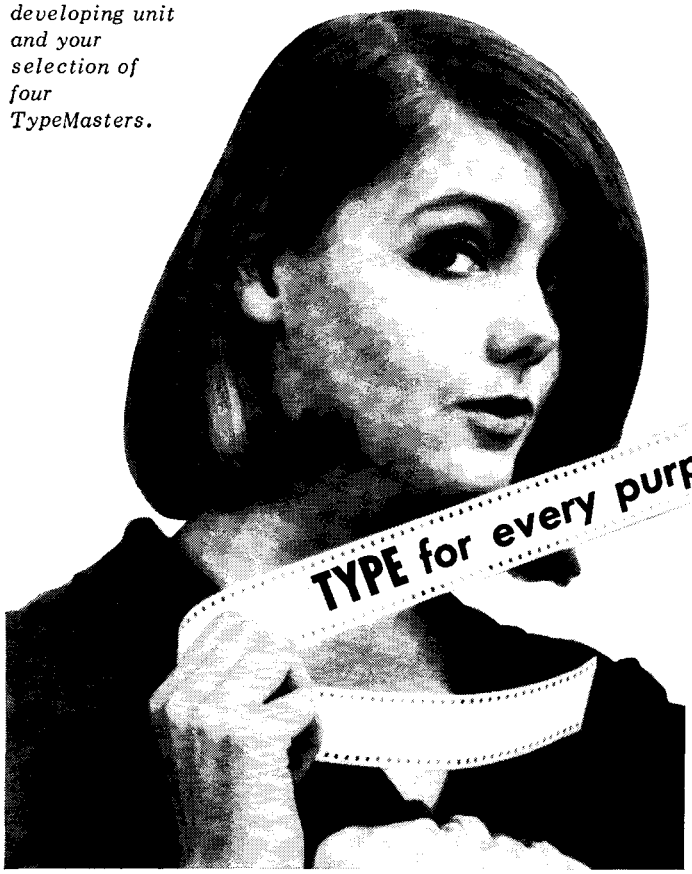
All display type used in this ad photo-composed on the VariTyper Headliner '80'.

How many lease-days could you pay for out of the savings on the first line of type you compose . . .?

Now – the fastest, simplest and most economical method of composing display type is available at a cost so low that even if your needs are infrequent you can still pile up a sizeable profit in savings. The *VariTyper* Headliner 80 gives you automatically letter-spaced lines of display type in all the popular styles and sizes – by finger-tip dialing. Why waste time and effort in visually spacing each letter – when it can be done automatically? The operation is so simple that your office girl will hand you a professionally attractive and typographically correct line of type within minutes after your *VariTyper* Headliner 80 is removed from the shipping carton. The question is no longer whether you can afford the '80 – but whether you can afford to be without it.

** Includes developing unit and your selection of four TypeMasters.*

All body copy in this ad was composed on the VariTyper 660, using style 1000-10 and italic 1005-8.



TYPE for every purpose ...by Simply Dialing!

VariTyper
SUBSIDIARY OF ADDRESSOGRAPH MULTIGRAPH CORP

720 FRELINGHUYSEN AVENUE
NEWARK, NEW JERSEY 07114

PLEASE SEND ME VARITYPER HEADLINER BOOKLET H-13

NAME... .....

COMPANY. .....

ADDRESS .....

CITY..... STATE..... ZIP .....

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Celebrate the 25th Anniversary of

CHRISTIANITY AND CRISIS

a bi-weekly Christian Journal of Opinion

with a year's subscription for only $4—a saving to you of 20%!

Journalism is a 2-way process.

Our editors and writers are men and women in the vanguard of the moral, ethical and intellectual life of today's society.*

So are our readers.**

Join the distinguished company of those who read, regularly, pleasurably and profitably, CHRISTIANITY and CRISIS.

*Reinhold Niebuhr, John C. Bennett, Robert McAfee Brown and others.

**Hubert H. Humphrey, Eugene Carson Blake, Nat Hentoff, Charles P. Taft, Martin Luther King, Senator Eugene McCarthy, Alan Paton are among them.

Walter Lippmann says: "I am a constant and careful reader of Christianity and Crisis, and I am very much indebted to it."

Christianity & Crisis
537 W. 121 St., N.Y. 10027

Please enter my subscription at the Special Anniversary rate of $4 for one year, 20% saving on the regular price ($5).

Name

Address

City State RE Zip Code

Solution to

THE REPORTER

Puzzle #139

F	E	D	E	R	A	L	R	E	S	E	R	V	E	■
A	■	A	■	I	■	U	■	D	■	R	■	I	■	F
N	E	W	E	G	G	S	■	E	A	R	A	C	H	E
C	■	D	■	H	■	H	■	N	■	O	■	T	■	A
Y	U	L	E	T	R	E	A	T	■	R	O	O	M	S
D	■	E	■	S	■	R	■	A	■	■	■	R	■	T
R	O	S	S	I	■	S	O	L	I	D	M	Y	T	H
E	■	■	■	D	■	■	■	■	■	U	■	■	■	I
S	E	N	S	E	L	E	S	S	■	N	O	T	E	S
S	■	O	■	■	■	Y	■	A	■	C	■	O	■	E
B	A	R	M	Y	■	E	N	D	L	E	S	S	L	Y
A	■	U	■	A	■	W	■	D	■	C	■	E	■	E
L	A	M	E	L	L	A	■	L	E	A	N	T	O	S
L	■	O	■	T	■	S	■	E	■	P	■	T	■	O
■	G	R	E	A	T	H	O	R	N	S	P	O	O	N

Acrostician—

WILLIAM McC. MARTIN

WHO— WHAT— WHY—

THE TRADITIONAL State of the Union message opens the political year as a strict exigency of the calendar even if, as happens in 1966, it occurs in a period of suspense. President Johnson faced the situation with a broad and perhaps overdetailed list of the Union's domestic and international requirements. Like Mr. Johnson we also have tried to cover some general and specific issues, from Rhode Island to Indonesia.

The most overwhelming one, as the President has said, is Vietnam, and **Edmond Taylor,** just back from that country, deals with the befuddlement of the civilian and military authorities there which reflects the one in Washington. **Denis Warner** reports from Bangkok on an unpublicized buildup of U.S. bases in Thailand that may provide some answer to one of the major causes of the frustrating confusion Taylor observed: how to stop the flow of men and arms on the Ho Chi Minh trail. . . . Here at home, the war on poverty has supplied unauthorized opportunities for some well-to-do young people in Rhode Island. **John M. Berry** is a Providence newspaperman now working in Washington under a Congressional fellowship from the American Political Science Association.

THE CAREER of Amintore Fanfani in Italian politics has drawn great advantage from the inspiration of a friend whom he regards a saint, Giorgio La Pira, and who, as **Claire Sterling** relates, recently caused what seems to be Fanfani's downfall. But one can never be quite sure where Fanfani stands. . . . Canada owns an estimated one-fourth to one-third of the world's supply of fresh water—a flow eyed greedily by the United States. According to **Dillon O'Leary,** the former parliamentary correspondent of the Vancouver *Times,* we shall have to look elsewhere to solve the problem of our shortages, however, for Canadians associate sale of their water with loss of sovereignty. . . . **Arlie Schardt,** of the Atlanta bureau of Time Inc., reports on the courageous fight of a Mississippi mayor against the Ku Klux Klan. . . . Before western correspondents were expelled from Indonesia, **Donald Kirk,** a free-lance writer based in Hong Kong, visited Djakarta for this report on the continuing anti-Communist campaign of Indonesia's Moslems.

ONE of the problems of each succeeding generation of modern youth seems to be to achieve an attitude to life that is "further out," or whatever the current phrase may be, than the generations immediately preceding. Japan's newest youth movement is setting a pace that will be hard to top when it, too, becomes one with the squares of yesteryear. One can only wait with interest to see what will supplant a movement that seeks truth through crime, homosexuality, and draughts of eye medicine. **Herbert Passin** is professor of sociology at the East Asian Institute at Columbia University. His most recent book is *The United States and Japan* (Prentice-Hall). . . . One of the few legitimate plays that continued playing to packed houses throughout New York's transit strike was an arrival from Germany via England. **Hortense Calisher** reviews what has become known, because of respiratory limitations, as *Marat/Sade.* Miss Calisher's *Journal from Ellipsia* is published by Little, Brown. . . . **Roland Gelatt,** editor of *High Fidelity,* discusses a number of new recordings by rising young musicians. . . . **Nancy Price** teaches at the State College of Iowa. . . . **Fernando Krahn's** moon is not made of green cheese. . . . **Richard Kostelanetz** is editor of *On Contemporary Literature* (Avon) and the *New American Novel* (Horizon). . . . **Hennig Cohen** teaches at the University of Pennsylvania and edits the *American Quarterly.* . . . **Jay Jacobs** once had his nose broken warming up the star pitcher of the Long Beach (Long Island) High School baseball team, but is now executive editor of *Arts* magazine.

Our Washington winter cover is by **Ronald Julius Christensen.**

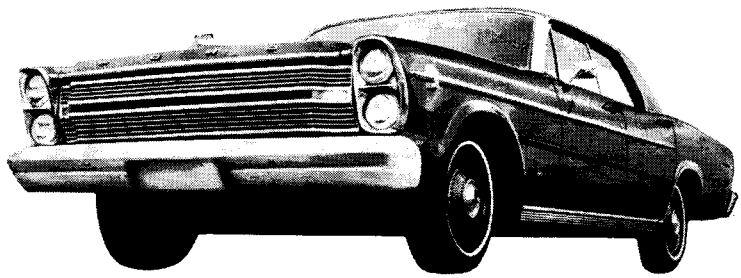
PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Hertz girl as seen by:

Her boy friend.

Her Mother.

Herself.



Her Customers.

When our customers look at a Hertz girl and see a car, that's a compliment. It means they're taking us, our cars, and our service for granted.

Which means we can't take anything for granted.

We have to do everything humanly possible to make sure the new Ford or other car you rent from us is as perfect as it can be.

That's not all.

If your flight happens to be fogged in and you land late, we make sure the car you reserved is *there*. Waiting. No matter what time it is.

That's our job. And if we're doing it right, nobody is supposed to notice us.

But you try to tell that to a pretty girl.

Harder still. Try telling it to her mother.

Let Hertz put you in the driver's seat. (Isn't that where you belong?)

HERTZ RENT A CAR

© HERTZ SYSTEM, INC. 1966

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

You will. Will he?

Maybe you obey stop signs and signals. Some drivers don't. So never assume the right-of-way blindly. Protect yourself by driving defensively. Remember, being in the right isn't enough. You could be dead right.

Watch out for the other guy!

ADVERTISING COUNCIL · PUBLIC SERVICE · GREEN CROSS FOR SAFETY · NATIONAL SAFETY COUNCIL

Published to save lives in cooperation with
The Advertising Council and the National Safety Council.

CORRESPONDENCE

FOOD FOR THOUGHT

To the Editor: As a subscriber to *The Reporter* for some years, I have often been impressed by your efforts to correctly inform your readers on a variety of subjects. Ralph Lee Smith's "The Vitamin Healers" (*The Reporter*, December 16) particularly intrigued me because it deals with nutrition, an area in which our organization has been scientifically active for nearly twenty years.

You are to be commended for your concern over the vast amount of misinformation circulated to Americans about their nutritional requirements and how to satisfy them. I certainly agree that exaggerated "better health" claims, based on inadequate or nonexistent scientific data, are confusing many people about the true relationship between good nutrition and good health.

In my own mind, this is due, at least in part, to the scarcity of serious scientific investigation of our nutritional status today. We have lost, I'm afraid, some of the impetus provided by the discovery and synthesis of vitamins during the first half of this century.

I am also constrained to point out that recent studies we have supported found many examples of poor nutrition and poor eating habits among American schoolchildren and elderly persons, as well as a significant reduction in blood levels of two or more vitamins in fifty-nine per cent of a cross section of patients admitted to a large metropolitan hospital.

The science of nutrition, both basic and applied, is quite young. Under these circumstances, a certain amount of exaggeration and overenthusiastic exploitation is to be expected. We must not let this produce within us an equal and opposite reaction.

We must not assume that because we are a wealthy nation and food is abundant we are all automatically well nourished. Our nutritional welfare is too important to all of us.

ROBERT S. GOODHART, M.D.
President & Scientific
Director
The National Vitamin Foundation
New York

THE VIETNAM DEBATE

To the Editor: Thank you and John Roche, for in successive issues ("Dissent, Consensus, and McCarthyism," by John P. Roche, December 16; "Christmas, 1965," by Max Ascoli, December 30), you have put the war in Vietnam and the protests against it into a clear and sharp perspective, thus giving both information and moral support to the majority of Americans who do support the administration stand.

As both of you point out, it takes greater courage to support the war than it does to protest it, for in support one must bear the sorrow of death and destruction and must also sometimes bear the scorn and contempt of those who consider you nothing less than an inhuman monster. It is difficult in this university to get supporters of the administration to appear in public meetings to defend U. S. policies. This difficulty is not due to the lack of such supporters but is instead determined by the fact that few are inclined to expose themselves to the type of treatment one can get before an audience packed with anti-war protesters. As on most other campuses, the Vietniks are a small but very vocal minority and the majority is, as usual, quiet.

Elsewhere, however, the majority has begun to move, and perhaps here as well the slumbering giant will begin to awaken. If such should occur, editorial comments such as those appearing in *The Reporter* cannot help but play an important part.

J. T. MOORE
Department of Philosophy
University of Kansas
Lawrence

To the Editor: Although I disagree with your Vietnam position, I do assume that your conclusions are the result of emotional maturity, intellectual sophistication, reasonable consideration of all factors involved, and thorough knowledge of the history of the question. Only thus can I respect your comments. You do not, however, grant these qualifications to your opponents. To consider those opposed to Vietnam involvement as "chronological and permanent adolescents . . . happily abandoning the pretense of having grown up" is irresponsible and dangerous. No reasonable debate is possible on such a level. For whom are you writing your editorials? Certainly not for those who agree with you, since they are already convinced. For those who disagree? We cannot consider your opinions seriously until you are willing to grant us the intelligence to understand and appraise your point-of-view. Disparagement is not argument.

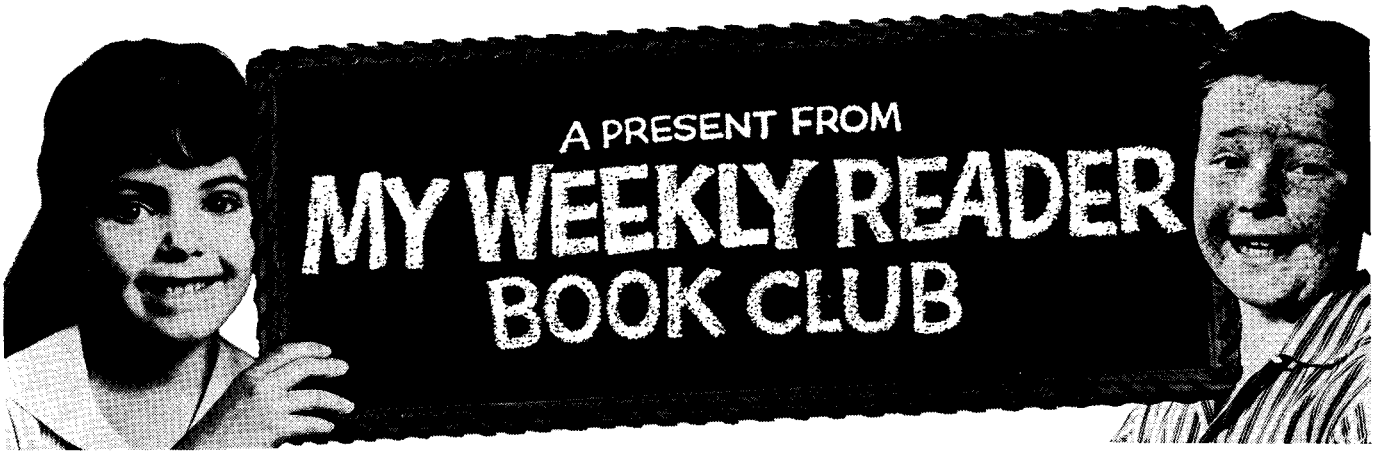
RONALD L. FRIEDLAND
Department of English
Hampton Institute
Hampton, Virginia

FOR UNIFIED TRANSIT

To the Editor: I was tremendously impressed with C. W. Griffin, Jr.'s, "New Hope for Straphangers" (*The Reporter*, December 30), and as the sponsor of the bill creating a unified transportation agency for New York City referred to by the author, I can assure you that it will be used with telling effect during the course of debate in the coming session.

The writer used just the right

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Take this big picture-story book

(a $2.75 value)

FREE

to introduce you and your child to America's favorite children's book club

Not since Mary Poppins has there been a storyland character as delightful as MISS LOLLIPOP! And now the famous *My Weekly Reader's* own Book Club will GIVE your child this hardbound picture-story book—to show you how quickly this program awakens in young boys and girls the love of reading which they must have to succeed in school.

Miss Lollipop opened the door
and there, on her doorstep, sat,
not a pussycat,
not a dog,
but a lion!
The biggest lion
Miss Lollipop had ever seen.

THE YEARS in which your child learns about books — and begins to read them — will be over before you know it. But the love of books and the *habit of reading* which your child forms at this time will *remain* throughout his school days—to influence his marks, his college choice, and even the job he will have some day.

That is why over two million conscientious mothers and fathers have chosen *My Weekly Reader's* book club plan as the trusted, guaranteed way to develop their children's love of books and reading.

Sample this program with this FREE GIFT. Stop any time you like.

Just fill out the coupon and we will rush MISS LOLLIPOP'S LION to your boy or girl. This wonderful tale of a grandmotherly lion-tamer is written and richly illustrated (in three colors) by famous Judy Varga. The book is a large one — almost 15 inches across when opened wide — and it sells in the publisher's edition for $2.75. You may have it FREE!

With your GIFT, we'll send the Club's current book selection. Look it over for 10 days. If you want to keep it, you pay only $1.50 plus delivery (even though the publisher's retail price averages $3.00 or more!) If not, simply put the selection back in the box and return it. In any case, the FREE book is yours to keep.

This program is sponsored by *My Weekly Reader,* the famous classroom newspaper, known and loved by millions of boys and girls, their teachers and principals. This guarantees that the same experienced editors also pick your child's books, after screening thousands each year. And because we buy them in huge quantities, you save *about 50% or more* off the publishers' prices.

All books are illustrated in bright colors — and hardbound in extra durable covers that withstand hundreds of readings. They are written in words your child knows or can easily make a part of his growing vocabulary. Above all, these books are so handsome—and the picture-stories are so charming — that even TV-prone and "book shy" youngsters become happy book lovers.

See for yourself how much both of you (child *and* parent) will enjoy these books. Claim your GIFT book now. Send no money. Just mail the coupon to WEEKLY READER CHILDREN'S BOOK CLUB, Education Center, Columbus, Ohio 43216.

$178,000 EXTRA FOR YOUR CHILD!

That's how much **more** a college-educated boy or girl earns in a lifetime. Books, more than anything else, get them to college. But 3,000 children's books are published each year. It's impossible for a parent to choose the right ones to buy. That's the job Weekly Reader Children's Book Club does for you.

SEND NO MONEY! FILL OUT COUPON AND MAIL TODAY!

Weekly Reader Children's Book Club, Education Center, Columbus, Ohio 43216

Please send *Miss Lollipop's Lion* — a $2.75 value — as a free gift and reserve a trial membership for my child in the Weekly Reader Children's Book Club. Also include the current selection for ten days' FREE examination. If we decide to join the Club, we will keep the current selection and pay only $1.50 plus delivery — *no matter how high the publisher's price may be.* Otherwise, we will return the book, pay nothing, owe nothing. In either case, *Miss Lollipop's Lion* is ours to keep FREE.

Child's Name_____ Age____

Parent's Name_____

Address_____

City_____ Zone_____ State_____

911 086 050 V22

GUARANTEE: For convenience, each new Club selection is shipped automatically every two months. You have the right at all times to read and return any selection within ten days and owe nothing. You are billed only $1.50, plus delivery, even though the publisher's price averages $3.00 or more!

Note: Books are in limited supply. Act now.

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE REPORTER Puzzle

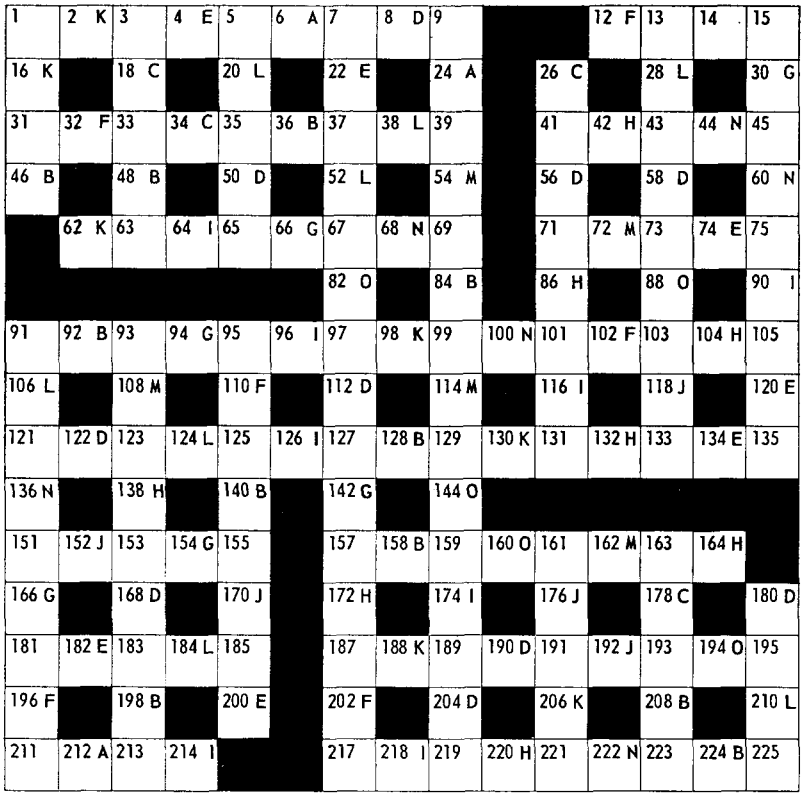
Acrostickler® No. 140

by HENRY ALLEN

© 1966 by the Reporter Magazine Company

DIRECTIONS

1) Each crossword definition contains two clues. One is a conventional synonym, the other a pun, anagram, or play on words
2) Letters from the acrostic should be transferred to the corresponding squares in the crossword, and vice versa.
3) The initial letters of the correct words in the acrostic will, when read down, spell out the name of a prominent person the Acrostician.



A $\overline{24}\ \overline{212}\ \overline{6}$ "Or flattery soothe the dull cold _____ of death? Gray, "Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard."

B $\overline{48}\ \overline{92}\ \overline{208}\ \overline{198}\ \overline{84}\ \overline{140}\ \overline{128}\ \overline{158}\ \overline{36}\ \overline{224}\ \overline{46}$ Geographical feature in the Soviet Union at the source of the Volga (6,5).

C $\overline{178}\ \overline{18}\ \overline{34}\ \overline{26}$ "Make ye sure to _____ his own..." Kipling, "A Song of the English."

D $\overline{190}\ \overline{180}\ \overline{58}\ \overline{8}\ \overline{168}\ \overline{204}\ \overline{50}\ \overline{56}\ \overline{122}\ \overline{112}$ The Acrostician is a distinguished this.

E $\overline{120}\ \overline{134}\ \overline{200}\ \overline{74}\ \overline{22}\ \overline{182}\ \overline{4}$ What one does at a banquet (3,4).

F $\overline{202}\ \overline{32}\ \overline{110}\ \overline{102}\ \overline{196}\ \overline{12}$ To set this on fire is a proverb for the impossible.

G $\overline{94}\ \overline{66}\ \overline{154}\ \overline{142}\ \overline{30}\ \overline{166}$ A Greek island.

H $\overline{42}\ \overline{86}\ \overline{132}\ \overline{138}\ \overline{172}\ \overline{104}\ \overline{220}\ \overline{164}$ Comparative of oleaginous (4,4).

I $\overline{64}\ \overline{174}\ \overline{116}\ \overline{126}\ \overline{218}\ \overline{214}\ \overline{96}\ \overline{14}\ \overline{90}$ Republic of the Soviet Union.

J $\overline{170}\ \overline{118}\ \overline{152}\ \overline{192}\ \overline{176}$ A decree of the Sultan of Turkey.

K $\overline{62}\ \overline{98}\ \overline{188}\ \overline{130}\ \overline{2}\ \overline{16}\ \overline{206}$ Seaport in Burma.

L $\overline{184}\ \overline{28}\ \overline{52}\ \overline{20}\ \overline{124}\ \overline{210}\ \overline{106}\ \overline{38}$ Strait between Jutland and Sweden.

M $\overline{54}\ \overline{72}\ \overline{162}\ \overline{108}\ \overline{114}$ One of the two great religious divisions of Islam (var. sp.).

N $\overline{136}\ \overline{100}\ \overline{222}\ \overline{44}\ \overline{68}\ \overline{60}$ "But methought it lessened my _____ of a king, that he should not be able to command the rain." Pepys, "Diary."

O $\overline{82}\ \overline{160}\ \overline{144}\ \overline{88}\ \overline{194}$ Who saw the Emperor's New Clothes? (2,3).

ACROSS

1. It's great to have something flow under.
12. Acts to make cats go.
31. Question of a real estate man or stock room clerk? (5,4).
41. Always German in dim mercury lights.
62. He was to be ransomed and no Indian (3,5).
71. The end of 62 across changes slightly and will rub.
91. Desires to undertake responsibility, in sum, with satin to waste (5,2,6,2).
121, My route, says Burns (4,3,4,4).
151. Instrument with a girl in a railroad.
157. The Acrostician leads this.
181. Shook when they go with crooks.
187. Lacking 161 down (loosely) with a battered bird surrounded by what 93 down is with a pound.
211. Famous father and family are in bewilderment, they say.
217. She'll eye tea for a shoe fashion (4,5).

DOWN

1. Hi-fi term for popular hits?
3. I'm in the main aisle of a cathedral? Don't be simple.
5. System of the Lambeth Icecapades.
7. Contortionists required for such maladroitness? (4,2,4,5).
9. Harder to make or more out of style? (4,11).
13. Do you need a pro camera to photograph this bird?
15. Suffered men to be in distorted surroundings.
26. Sound that's mostly cough, but you don't say so.
91. A drain area or a new name for an umbrella?
93. If you wear a yoke band with a penny, you don't have this (5,4).
95. Is at stir-crazy place for Juvenal.
161. Controls for sirens.
163. British TV with a middle distance.
180. The limit of Sedgewick County.

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

amount of statistics to show the frightening conditions that prevail in the central business district located south of 61st Street in Manhattan. Even if our population remained static for several years, the city will commit suicide if immediate action is not taken to convince the public and its officials that rail and rubber should not be competing but should be complementing each other.

Mr. Griffin very convincingly demonstrates that highway-user taxes do not cover the total costs of highways, bridges, tunnels, and other facilities for motorists. I am afraid, however, that Mr. Phillips of the Automobile Club of New York will not be convinced and will continue urging passage of his amendment to earmark highway-user taxes solely for roadbuilding.

Frankly, Mr. Griffin shows very clearly the interdependence of each mode of transportation and complete justification for a unified transportation agency. Several references were made to the conflict between Traffic Commissioner Henry A. Barnes and the Transit Commission on one-way avenues for busses, and between Barnes and the City Planning Commission on garages; but, best of all in justifying a unified agency, was the announcement and publication of a brochure by Robert Moses outlining plans to expand the West Side Highway without even a post card to Barnes, who supposedly is in charge of traffic.

Since introducing the bill for unification in New York City, I have now prepared a comprehensive bill creating a Tri-State Transportation Authority consolidating all agencies of transportation in the New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut metropolitan area. This Authority would be an operating agency and not merely a planning and study group. This would be the long-range approach and will require more time, since Connecticut has no legislative session in 1966.

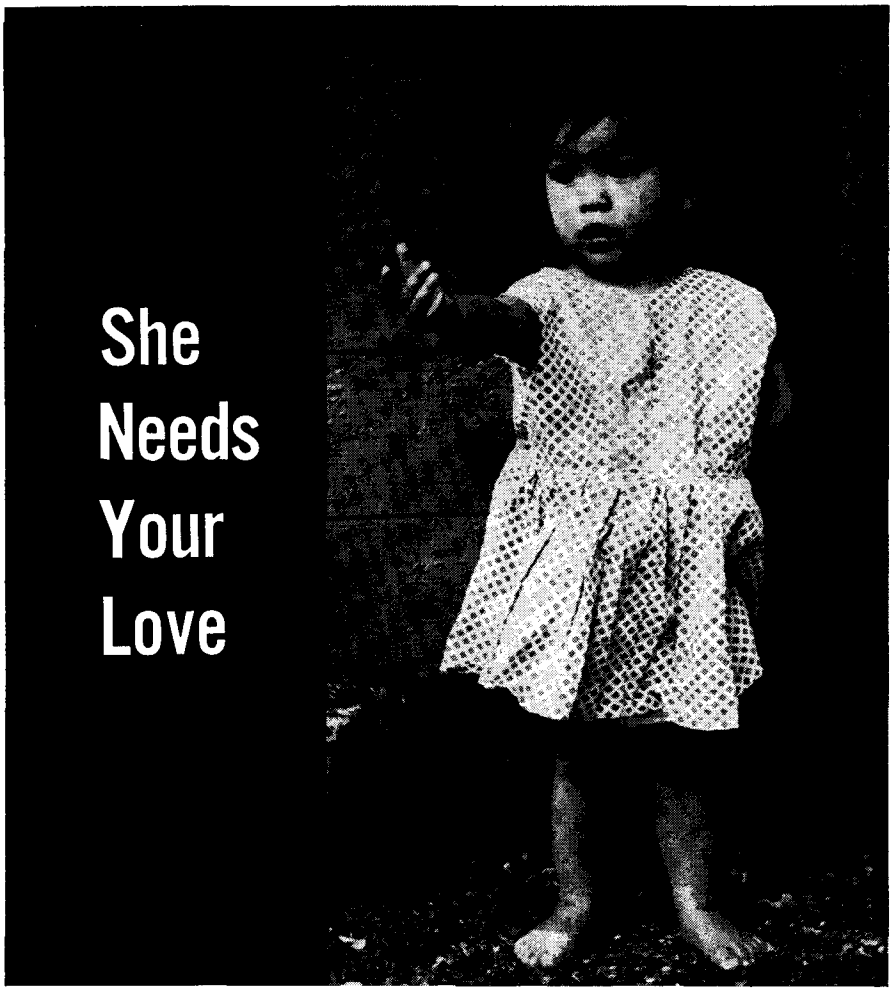
THOMAS J. MACKELL
New York State Senate
Albany

GIUSTIZIA PER GIUSEPPE!

To the Editor: Bravissimo! There could be no truer summation of Giuseppe Verdi's contribution to art than Roland Gelatt's "Off the Beaten Track" (*The Reporter,* December 30). Mozart and Wagner may have brought greater intellect to the problems of writing opera, but Maestro Verdi was the great soul of the art. I can think of only two operas outside his work radiating his special burning compassion: *Fidelio* and *Boris Godounov.*

Are we at last breaking some of the ice blocking our understanding of the great Italian? It seems hard to believe. In any case, Mr. Gelatt's generosity with his enthusiasm is not only refreshing but badly needed.

BARRY FRAUMAN
Chicago



Little Kim was abandoned by her mother in an alley of Seoul, Korea. She was found curled up behind a box, shivering, hungry and frightened.

Her G.I. father probably doesn't even know she exists. And since Kim is a mixed-blood child, no relative will ever claim her.

Only your love can help give little Kim, and children just as needy, the privileges you would wish for your own child.

Through Christian Children's Fund you can sponsor one of these youngsters. We use the word sponsor to symbolize the bond of love that exists between you and the child.

The cost? Only $10 a month. Your love is demonstrated in a practical way because your money helps with nourishing meals . . . medical care . . . warm clothing . . . education . . . understanding housemothers.

And in return you will receive your child's personal history, photograph, plus a description of the orphanage where your child lives. You can write and send packages. Your child will know who you are and will answer your letters. Correspondence is translated at our overseas offices.

(If you want your child to have a special gift—a pair of shoes, a warm jacket, a fuzzy bear—you can send your check to our office, and the *entire amount* will be forwarded, along with your instructions.)

Will you help? Requests come from orphanages every day. And they are urgent. Children wrapping rags on their feet, school books years out of date, milk supplies exhausted, babies abandoned by unwed mothers.

Since 1938 thousands of American sponsors have found this to be an intimate, person-to-person way of sharing their blessings with youngsters around the world.

Little Kim and children like her need your love—won't you help? Today?

Sponsors urgently needed for children in: India, Hong Kong, Korea, Japan, Formosa, Brazil.

Write today: Verbon E. Kemp

CHRISTIAN CHILDREN'S FUND, Inc.
Richmond, Va. 23204
27 Years Service

I wish to sponsor a ☐ boy ☐ girl in
(Country)_____ or,
☐ Choose a child who needs me most.
I will pay $10 a month ($120 a year)
I enclose my first payment of $_____
Send me child's name, story, address, and picture.
I cannot sponsor a child but want to give $_____
☐ Please send me more information RE16

Name_____
Address_____
City_____
State_____ Zip_____

Government Approved, Registered (VFA-080) with Advisory Committee on Voluntary Foreign Aid. Gifts are tax deductible.

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Save up to 80% on books at Marboro

7928. LAWRENCE OF ARABIA: The Man and The Motive. By Anthony Nutting. Stirring, definitive story of the complex intrigues, power struggles, skirmishes and battles in which Lawrence became involved. 16 Photos. *Orig. $5.00.* *Only* **1.98**

7925. HENRI ROUSSEAU. Text by D. Vallier. With 210 illus., 29 hand-tipped in sumptuous full color. An extraordinary volume based on documents and insights by contemporaries of the great "primitive," one of the exceptional personalities in French painting. 8¾" x 12". *Orig. $25.00.* *Only* **14.95**

7916. THE ART OF CENTRAL ASIA. By Milos Hrbas and Edgar Knobloch. Truly monumental lavish work presenting an historical introduction to the fabled lands of Sogdiana, Tashkent and Samarkand—140 reproductions, 40 in full color—elaborate courtyards with honey-combed vaulting and alabaster carving; great melon-shaped domes; dark interiors glittering with gold, intricate brass work, rich tapestry, and lovely statuettes, etc. 9" x 12". *Special import* **7.95**

7929. Robert Payne: THE LIFE AND DEATH OF LENIN. The definitive account of Lenin and his era; the searching portrait of an intensely human tyrant. A major biography: childhood, the years of exile and plotting, the 7 years of power and its decrees, laws and executions, and his fall, murdered by his successor, Joseph Stalin. 672 pp; photos. *Orig. $8.50.* *Only* **2.98**

7912. GREAT STORIES FROM THE WORLD OF SPORT. Ed. by Peter Schwed and Herbert Warren Wind. 1,000-page, 3-volume sportsman's library containing four complete novels, including Faulkner's *The Bear* and Joel Sayre's *Rackety-Rax*, 32 short story classics and a dozen long excerpts from other famous novels—includes Hemingway, Wodehouse, Runyon, Lardner, Wylie, Schulberg, many others. Handsome, boxed gift edition. *Orig. $15.00.* *Only* **6.95**

7918. THE BERNARD BERENSON TREASURY. Ed. by Hanna Kiel; Intro. by John Walker. Superb selection from the books and hitherto unpublished writings, letters, and diaries of the most celebrated humanist and art historian of our times—B.B.'s best on esthetics, personalities and achievements in art, life, and literature from the Renaissance to the present. *Orig. $6.95.* *Only* **2.98**

7872. SOULE'S DICTIONARY OF ENGLISH SYNONYMS. Revised & Enlarged Edition; Ed. by A. D. Sheffield. This long-famous book is unsurpassed in completeness, simplicity of arrangement and in the rapidity with which the right word can be found. 600 pp. *Orig. $6.00.* *New complete edition* **2.98**

6293. Sartre: BEING AND NOTHINGNESS. Transl. and intro. by Hazel E. Barnes. Jean-Paul Sartre's *magnum opus, a sine qua non* for understanding Existentialism and its importance as one of the leading philosophical movements of our time. Over 700 pp. *Orig $10.00.* *Only* **2.98**

7922. AN UNINHIBITED TREASURY OF EROTIC POETRY. Ed. by Louis Untermeyer. The world's greatest erotica in verse ranging from the Bible to the present day—a fresh collection of the most renowned poets from Ovid to Swinburne, Chaucer to e.e. cummings—the outspoken sensuality of lust and the earthly celebration of carnal pleasure. Over 600 poems. *Orig. $7.50.* *Only* **3.95**

7911. THE GREAT TRAVELLERS. Ed. by Milton Rugoff. Incomparable, 2-volume treasury of over 100 first-hand narratives of wanderers and explorers from 450 B.C. to the present—Pizarro captures an Inca King, Dickens wanders down Broadway, Scott races to the Pole, Heyerdahl on Easter Island—thrilling reading! Over 125 illus., 984 pages, handsome slipcase. *Orig. $12.50.* *The 2 vol set, Only* **7.95**

7904. THE ADVENTURE OF LANGUAGE. By Michael Girsdansky. Stimulating new study, for layman and scholar, of our own and other languages, both written and oral—discusses everything from the history of the world's great language-families to puns, dialects, semantics, and cybernetics. *Orig. $5.95.* *Only* **1.98**

7906. FELIX MENDELSSOHN AND HIS TIMES. By Heinrich E. Jacob. Brilliant critical biography evoking the whole rich fabric of Mendelssohn's genius and colorful career—confidant of Goethe and Schumann, beloved of Victorian society, victim of Wagner's anti-semitic attacks—Mendelssohn is here re-instated among the musical titans of all time. Scores of musical examples and period illus. *Orig. $6.95.* *Only* **2.98**

7898. SCENIC U.S.A. CALENDAR, 1966—IN FULL COLOR. Exceptionally attractive, large-size (12" x 13½") wall calendar of scenic America—high-quality full-color photos of snow-drowned Yosemite Valley, the torrents of Niagara Falls, the vast multi-hued Grand Canyon, and 10 more magnificent views—with holidays noted, and note spaces. *Orig. $2.95.* *Only* **1.00**

7896. ROBERT E. LEE: The Man and Soldier, A Pictorial Biography. By Philip Van Doren Stern. 350 illustrations and 80,000 words of text, from childhood to the achievements of his later years. 8¾" x 11¼". *Orig. $9.95 New complete edition* **2.98**

7888. PICTORIAL HISTORY OF PHILOSOPHY. By D. D. Runes. Here, in vivid pictures and illuminating text are more than 3000 years of world philosophy from Socrates to contemporary Zen, from the Upanishads to Einstein and Existentialism—the major schools, books, and thinkers of East and West. *Nearly 1000 illus; 8½" x 11".* *Orig. $15.00.* *New complete edition* **3.95**

7578. Wisdom Literature: PROVERBS AND ECCLESIASTES. Introduction and commentary by Dr. Edgar Jones. Historical introductions to these two Bible books of wisdom literature, dealing with authorship, text, and historical context—plus extensive commentaries and explanations of the Bible passages. *Orig. $4.25.* *Only* **1.00**

7905. A HISTORY OF MODERN MUSIC. By Paul Collaer. Comprehensive survey of the fresh ideas and techniques that have made the 20th century one of the most creative periods in musical history—analyzes the innovations of Debussy, Schoenberg, Ives, Webern, Berg, Hindemith, many others. 134 musical illus. *Orig. $7.50* *Only* **3.98**

7893. HOUSE BEAUTIFUL TREASURY OF CONTEMPORARY AMERICAN HOMES. By J. Barry. 32 excellent examples of contemporary American architecture as used in big and small homes—strikingly beautiful book—with *150 true-to-life full color photos* plus drawings and 25 floor plans. 11" x 14". *Orig. $12.95.* *Only* **5.95**

7889. MECCA: THE BLESSED—MADINAH: THE RADIANT. Ed. by Emel Esin. Stunning, informative book containing the first comprehensive description and photographic documentation of the cities to appear in the West—embraces all historical and cultural aspects of the holy cities of Islam. 113 illus, 57 in color. *Orig. $10.00.* *Only* **5.95**

7845. Bertrand Russell: FACT AND FICTION. Immensely readable and exciting collection of short stories, essays, and autobiographical material, discussing topics such as: the great mathematicians, politics, education, peace and disarmament, and writers (Shelley, Turgenev, Ibsen, etc.). *Orig. $4.95.* *Only* **1.98**

7871. THE OLD MASTERS. By C. Lorgues-Lapouge. Magnificently illustrated panorama of priceless paintings and drawings from the 6th to the 18th centuries: Byzantine, Gothic, Renaissance, Baroque. Sumptuously printed in Italy; *131 plates in Color and 65 drawings in two-tones;* 9¾" x 13". *Orig. $12.50.* *Only* **7.95**

4739. THE GREAT AGES OF ARCHITECTURE: From Ancient Greece to the Present Day. By Bodo Cichy. Gloriously illustrated, authoritatively written survey of the finest examples of great architecture from the Parthenon of Classic Athens, through the ages of Byzantine, Romanesque, Gothic, Renaissance, Baroque and Rococo, to the works of Le Corbusier, Frank Lloyd Wright and Buckminster Fuller. *729 illus, 65 in full-color; 440 pages,* 10" x 12-¾". *Orig. $25.00.* *Only* **9.95**

7859. THE FILMS OF JEAN HARLOW. Ed. by M. Conway & M. Ricci. An unusual pictorial biography—*226 photos*—with text of the "platinum-blonde bombshell," one of the greatest Hollywood sex symbols, from bit player to star, and her untimely death at 26. *Orig. $5.95.* *Only* **2.98**

7857. SHERLOCK HOLMES OF BAKER STREET: A Life of the World's First Consulting Detective. By W. S. Baring-Gould. The definitive account of the life of one of the world's most extraordinary men assembled from 20 years research—includes the whole of the Prof. Moriarty battle, Holmes and Jack the Ripper, etc. *Orig. $5.00.* *New complete edition* **1.98**

7867. F.D.R. By Roger Butterfield. Memorable photographic record of the remarkable career of FDR beginning with his sheltered childhood in Hyde Park—includes recollections of gov't leaders, friends, staff and family. *400 photos; 8½" x 11¼".* *Orig. $10.00.* *Only* **2.98**

7863. PORTRAIT OF MOSCOW. Glorious, *Full Color* presentation of the ancient, beautiful, history-laden city—the extraordinary color plates of the architecture, the art and the life of Moscow virtually leap from every page. De Luxe 10" x 12" format. *Special import* **5.95**

7862. A PICTORIAL HISTORY OF THE MOVIES. By Deems Taylor, B. Hale and M. Peterson. Over 700 fascinating photos and an engrossing text tell the story of the movie industry and its stars from Kinetoscopes to modern times. *Orig. $6.00.* *Only* **2.98**

7934. STORIES FROM *THE NEW YORKER* 1950 to 1960. Honor Roll of 47 distinguished stories by the decade's most accomplished and adventurous writers—stories by Bellow, Cheever, Nadine Gordimer, Mary McCarthy, Frank O'Connor, Nabokov, Salinger, Updike, Eudora Welty, Tennessee Williams, Angus Wilson, 36 more—a wealth of memorable fiction. 780 pp. *Orig. $7.50.* *Only* **2.98**

7778. Louis Filler: DICTIONARY OF AMERICAN SOCIAL REFORM. The first modern synthesis of American reform, from our historic beginnings to the present—covers thoroughly changing attitudes, issues, conditions, leaders and vocabulary, traces "Liberal", "Radical", "Americanism", etc. from past to present. 854 pages. *Orig. $15.00.* *Only* **2.98**

7077. Invaluable Reference: DICTIONARY OF PHILOSOPHY—Revised Edition. Ed. by Dagobert Runes. Invaluable reference and refresher for students, teachers, and general readers—hundreds of key terms defined, concise explanations of schools, important philosophers and explanations of their views—plus bibliography. *Orig. $6.00* *Only* **1.98**

7563. A VISION OF PARIS—The Photographs of Eugene Atget; The Words of Marcel Proust. Ed. & Intro. by Arthur Trottenberg. Only *"magnificent"* can describe this union of the Atget photos and Proustian monologue, which together convey a unique feeling for the City of Paris, its peopled streets, inward life, and very fabric, as well as an enduring *vision* of the city of dreams, magic pleasures, and golden mornings. 120 separate photos; 10¼" x 12". *Orig. $19.95* *Only* **9.95**

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

7847. MAN & SEX—A Practical Manual of Sexual Knowledge. By J. J. Kaufman, M.D. and G. Borgeson. The first solid medical manual *written specifically for men* in non-technical language—deals with every aspect of male sexuality: physical act and pleasure, impotence, contraception, vasectomy, aging, hormones, disorders and more. *Orig. $3.95.* *Only* **1.98**

7864. BOSWELL'S JOURNALS. Ed. by Frederick A. Pottle. 4 volume set including: Boswell For The Defense: Boswell's London Journal 1762-3; Boswell On The Grand Tour, Germany & Switzerland, 1764; and Boswell in Holland 1763-4—*1,450 pages* of intimate confession and vivid panorama of 18th century life. Illus; softbound. *Orig. $11.13.* *4 Vol. Set, Only* **3.95**

7819. A SPY IN ROME. By Peter Tompkins. The exciting *true story* of Peter Tompkins, a young American smuggled into Rome by the OSS at the dangerous climax of the German occupation, and of the spy ring he organized while fleeing Germans and possible informers—fleeing in a series of inspired, successful disguises that make movies today look pallid. *Orig. $5.50.* *Only* **1.49**

7827. PROSTITUTION IN EUROPE AND THE AMERICAS. By Dr. Fernando Henriques. Scholarly and readable history of prostitution covering sexuality in early Christianity, the century of the courtesan, 18th century Russia, France and England, and Brazil, the Caribbean and US from colonial times to the present—amazing details from Catharine the Great's male whores to Caribbean "slave-state morality." *Orig. $7.50.* *Only* **2.98**

7775. James Fisher & Roger Tory Peterson: THE WORLD OF BIRDS. An exciting new visual introduction to the entire spectrum of the world's birds—several hundred full-color Peterson bird paintings, plus 96 pages of color habitat-maps, and numerous, striking photos—dealing with ornithology as a science, bird-watching techniques, classification of birds, mapping of bird families, a bird census, plus inventories of extinct and vanishing species. Handsomely & profusely illus; 9½" x 12⅝". *Orig. $22.95.* *Only* **9.95**

7777. Passwords to History: EXTINCT LANGUAGES. By J. Friedrich. The wonderful story of the art of deciphering forgotten languages—hieroglyphics, cuneiform, Hittite, Etruscan and other scripts—how their codes were broken; what they have taught us about ancient culture. 71 illus. *Orig. $5.00.* *Only* **1.98**

5734. LAROUSSE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF MYTHOLOGY. Ed. by Felix Guirand, intro. by Robert Graves. The only complete one-volume encyclopedia of world mythology from pre-Biblical Egypt and pre-Homeric Greece, through Celtic, Teutonic, Chinese and Japanese myths, to the myths of Oceania and Black Africa—over 70,000 hardcover copies sold at $17.50 each. *868 illus. of art around the world.* 500 pp; 8¼" x 11¼", softbound, sewn for lasting use. *Special import* **4.95**

7731. U.S. CAMERA ANNUAL 1964. Ed. by Tom Maloney. "Best of the Year" photos in color and black and white—U.S. Camera's famous annual collection featuring: a 12-page portfolio of Marilyn Monroe's last posed photos by Bert Stern, behind-the-sets *Cleopatra* photos, John Stewart's famous nudes, spectacular shots from the Gordon Cooper orbit—plus brilliant works by Karsh, Halsman, Heyman, Chandoha, Atkins, and many more. *210 photos, 25 in full color;* 8¼" x 11½". *Orig. $10.00.* *Only* **2.98**

7647. TREASURY OF WORLD SCIENCE. Ed. by Dagobert Runes; intro. by Wernher Von Braun. A philosophically oriented anthology of fundamental scientific writings from Archimedes to Einstein, from Raman to Pavlov, with emphasis on pioneers in every area of science—146 articles and essays by such greats as Ampere, Dohr, Tycho Brahe, Fourier, Halley, Linnaeus, Planck, Roentgen, Vesalius, and more. *999 pages, illus.* *Orig. $15.00.* *Only* **2.98**

6277. WORD ORIGINS AND THEIR ROMANTIC STORIES. By Wilfred Funk. Reveals the fascinating derivations of more than 3,000 words in common use, with unusual stories you can use to spark any conversation. 432 pp. *Special* **1.98**

4667. ROGET'S THESAURUS of Words and Phrases. Authorized, revised edition of the indispensable book for everyone who wants to find the right word at the right time. 600-page hardbound edition. *Special* **1.98**

2583. TREASURY OF PHILOSOPHY. By D. D. Runes. Over 1,300 pages covering the whole span of recorded philosophical thought and writing. Each selection begins with a biographical sketch of the philosopher. Nearly 400 great thinkers, both Oriental and Western, many not accessible in any other collection. *Orig. $10.00.* *Only* **2.98**

3786. AN ABZ OF LOVE. By Inge & Sten Hegeler. This is not a book for beginners—it is written by a Danish married couple, both doctors, both psychologists, both writers, written in blunt, non-technical language and illustrated with candor—*it is what it purports to be, an important book on Sex and an enlightening guide to a complete and happier sex life*—it stormed the best-seller lists in Denmark, Sweden, Norway and Holland and has reached over 1,000,000 readers. 120 Illus. *Orig. $10.00.* *Only* **7.49**

7762. PICASSO AT WORK: An Intimate Photographic Study by Edward Quinn. Text by Roland Penrose. Exceedingly handsome, brilliant photo study of Picasso during moments of creation and relaxation —*282 photos, 52 in full color, of Picasso, his paintings, studio, friends and family*—revealing with unique insight the process and impulse of creation, against the background of Picasso's personal and daily life. Handsomely bound; 10¼" x 13¾". *Orig. $25.00.* *Only* **9.95**

7420. THE RED LETTER SHAKESPEARE—Shakespeare's Complete Dramatic and Poetic Works. FOR THE FIRST TIME—the *COMPLETE* Shakespeare with Every Famous and Important Passage or Quotation printed in eye-catching *Red Letters* for quick and easy reference—*PLUS* a comprehensive, topical concordance to all red letter passages—the perfect reference work for every Shakespeare reader and lover, every student and teacher, every speaker. *1344 pages in easy-to-read double column format.* *Orig. $7.95.* *Only* **3.98**

7554. ALEXANDER HAMILTON: Youth to Maturity 1755-1788. By Broadus Mitchell. Eminently readable and warm biography of one of America's most important statesmen—describes his West Indian birth and boyhood, his activities during the Revolution, his relationship to Washington as aide-de-camp for 4 years, in battle and in camp, and closes with Hamilton's brilliant championship of the new Federal Constitution in New York. 691 pp. *Orig. $10.00.* *Only* **2.98**

7555. ALEXANDER HAMILTON: The National Adventure 1788-1804. By Broadus Mitchell. Engrossing biography of Hamilton's years as a national figure—from his appointment as our first Secretary of the Treasury to his fatal duel with Aaron Burr—examining Hamilton's establishment of national solvency to the birth of his Federalist party, and the bitter Federalist conflict with Jefferson's Republicans, as well as Hamilton's personal life, his failures and successes. 815 pp. *Orig. $12.50.* *Only* **2.98**

7510. JOHNSON'S DICTIONARY: A Modern Selection. By E. L. McAdam, Jr. and G. Milne. The essence of Johnson's classic, sure to delight all word-lovers—5000 definitions packed with wit, wisdom, style, and all the color and vitality of 17th and 18th century English life. *Orig. $6.95.* *Only* **2.98**

5724. SOUTINE: 48 Color Plates. By Andrew Forge. An original study of the enigmatic and electrifying Russian artist, Chaim Soutine, and of his intensely exciting paintings, among them the famous "Page-boy at Maxims". 58 plates, 48 in full color; 9⅜" x 10¾". *Special import* **1.98**

4040. A DICTIONARY OF SYMBOLS. By J. E. Cirlot; preface by Herbert Read. The first reference work to provide a central source for symbological studies, *with the essential, unvarying meaning of every symbol known to Oriental and Western man*—symbols from art, literature, myth, ritual, magic—everything from Abracadabra and Gemini to the Tarot, Mandala and Yang-Yin. 32 halftone plates, 49 line drawings. *Orig. $12.00.* *Only* **4.98**

7810. THE ART AND TECHNIQUE OF COLOR PHOTOGRAPHY. Ed. by Alexander Liberman. Seventeen famous photographers provide specific technical information of their work, as well as their conceptions of *ART* in color photography—*195 FULL COLOR PHOTOS* by such eminent artists as: Cecil Beaton, Blumenfeld, Horst, Rawlings, and Irving Penn, with studies in nature, fashion, portraiture, travel, and more. 195 full-color photos; 10" x 12¾". *Orig $10.00.* *Only* **4.98**

7809. Jessica Mitford: THE AMERICAN WAY OF DEATH. The explosive best selling expose of America's hush-hush, hard-sell burial business—the entire, bizarre complex of commercial operations and propaganda: the outrageous expense, display and mumbo jumbo, completely unrelated to any Christian or Jewish tradition—the book that made every "Memorial Counselor" and "Grief Therapist" in the country cringe. *Orig. $4.95.* *Only* **1.00**

STEVENSON COMMEMORATIVE RECORD
R-847. ADLAI E. STEVENSON: The Man, The Candidate, The Statesman. Expressing his brilliant intellect, integrity and wit—these excerpts include speeches from his two presidential campaigns, the UN Disarmament Address, Cuba Crisis remarks, eulogy of Winston Churchill, the entire Anti-Defamation League Address expressing his personal philosophy of democracy, Pres. Johnson's eulogy of Stevenson himself, and more. *12" long-play, Hi-Fi record available to Marboro customers through a special quantity purchase.* **Available by mail order only. Just Published $5.79. Special Disc. Price 2.98**

5799. SEXUAL BEHAVIOR AND PERSONALITY CHARACTERISTICS. Ed. by M. F. DeMartino. Anthology of unique studies and case histories correlating personality characteristics with sexual behavior, explaining *what kinds* of people participate in lesbian and homosexual acts, in masturbation, sado-masochism, extra-marital sex acts, and the meaning of different positions during intercourse. *Orig. $7.50.* *Only* **2.98**

3911. DESPOTISM: A Pictorial History of Tyranny. By Dagobert D. Runes. Through a skillful union of words and pictures, this beautifully produced, purposefully angry book thrusts us into the darkest side of history—slave markets through the ages, tyrants of antiquity, the Alexanders and Caesars, Inquisitors and Crusaders, Sadism, Witch-burning, torture and wholesale massacres as well as our century's vast contributions—and the reminder that the common man is still being martyred in the name of progress. Index. 8½" x 11". *Orig. $12.50.* *Only* **2.98**

5643. Richard von Krafft-Ebing: PSYCHOPATHIA SEXUALIS. The *classic* work on sexual pathology and perversion, and the first edition with *all the passages translated into English—238 case histories* covering satyriasis, fetishism, frigidity, homosexuality, bestiality and transvestism—intro. by Dr. Ernest Van Den Haag. 512 pp. **5.95**

MAIL THIS COUPON TODAY!

marboro **Dept. R-118, 131 Varick St., New York, N.Y. 10013**

Please send me postage prepaid, the bargains circled below. **(Please add 35c postage and handling on all orders).**
MINIMUM MAIL ORDER $3.

☐ Enclosed find $ _____

☐ Ship C.O.D.*

☐ Charge my Diners' Club Account # _____ } Limited to orders of $5.00 or more

☐ Charge my American Express Account # _____ }

2583	3786	3911	4040	4667	4739	5643	5724	5725	5734	5799	6277
6293	7077	7420	7510	7554	7555	7563	7578	7647	7731	7762	7775
7777	7778	7809	7810	7819	7827	7845	7847	7857	7859	7862	7863
7864	7867	7871	7872	7888	7889	7893	7896	7898	7904	7905	7906
7911	7912	7916	7918	7922	7925	7928	7929	7934			R847

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP CODE _____

☐ **Check here if you receive monthly bargain circular.** New York City residents add 5% sales tax. Other New York State residents add applicable sales tax. *A few cents extra for C.O.D. Add 25¢ per title for deliveries outside U.S.A. and possessions. 10-DAY SATISFACTION OR MONEY-BACK GUARANTEE.

VISIT A MARBORO BOOK SHOP

NEW YORK: 47 W. 42 St. • 56 W. 8 St. • 144 W. 57 St.

PHILADELPHIA: • King of Prussia Plaza (Rts 202, 23)
Roosevelt Mall Shopping Center, Roosevelt Blvd. & Cottman St., (Next to Klein's)

MIAMI: 86 Miracle Mile, Coral Gables **CLEVELAND:** 806 Huron Rd. (9th & Huron)

CINCINNATI: 27 W 6th St. (in the Terrace Hilton Bldg.)

MARYLAND: Long Meadow Shopping Center, 1511 N. Potomac Ave., Hagerstown

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Sic Transit

Some, hitching rides downtown during New York's transit strike, started with a car going uptown first. Others got east by going west. But zaniness was everywhere, and it was to be expected that the inhabitants would reflect some of it. After all, when they stepped into a telephone booth to explain that they might be four instead of three hours late, those telltale drops of candlewax from the blackout were there to contemplate. And if, shivering their way across the Brooklyn Bridge, they inadvertently prayed that it wouldn't snow, they knew they were only asking to make the water shortage worse next spring. At least they had their newspapers —there was that. But just what they could make out of them was hard to tell.

At first it had seemed nothing more than the usual display of fireworks from Mike Quill, heightened, to be sure, by the necessity of impressing a new mayor. Then, when the strike actually began on New Year's Day, it was assumed that it wouldn't last any longer than an unseasonably mild weekend. But it went on and on, as inexorable as the mounting traffic. Quill was put in jail and collapsed with a possible heart attack. Now it was called a "holy war," and while the rank and file suffered and grumbled, the walkout was supported by the spokesmen for the teachers, the municipal and state employees, the sanitation men, the hospital workers, the pullman car porters, the teamsters, the wholesale and retail clerks, the typographers, and so on. (But not, it should be noted, Alex Rose of the Hatters and David Dubinsky of the Ladies Garment Workers, who seemed to be becoming increasingly isolated from the other labor leaders—their Liberal Party had supported Lindsay for mayor, while the Central Labor Council had backed Abe Beame.)

"There's a great danger of drifting into a situation," Nathan Feinsinger, chairman of the mediation panel, said on the fifth day of the strike, "where nobody—nobody—can find a solution." The situation was becoming ominous indeed. City Hall was in a quandary. Albany had nothing to offer. Washington had no advice. There were fears that someday, if the machinery for negotiating with government workers was not improved, the city might find itself heading for an eventual general strike. For although a settlement has been made, no solution to the basic problem is yet in sight.

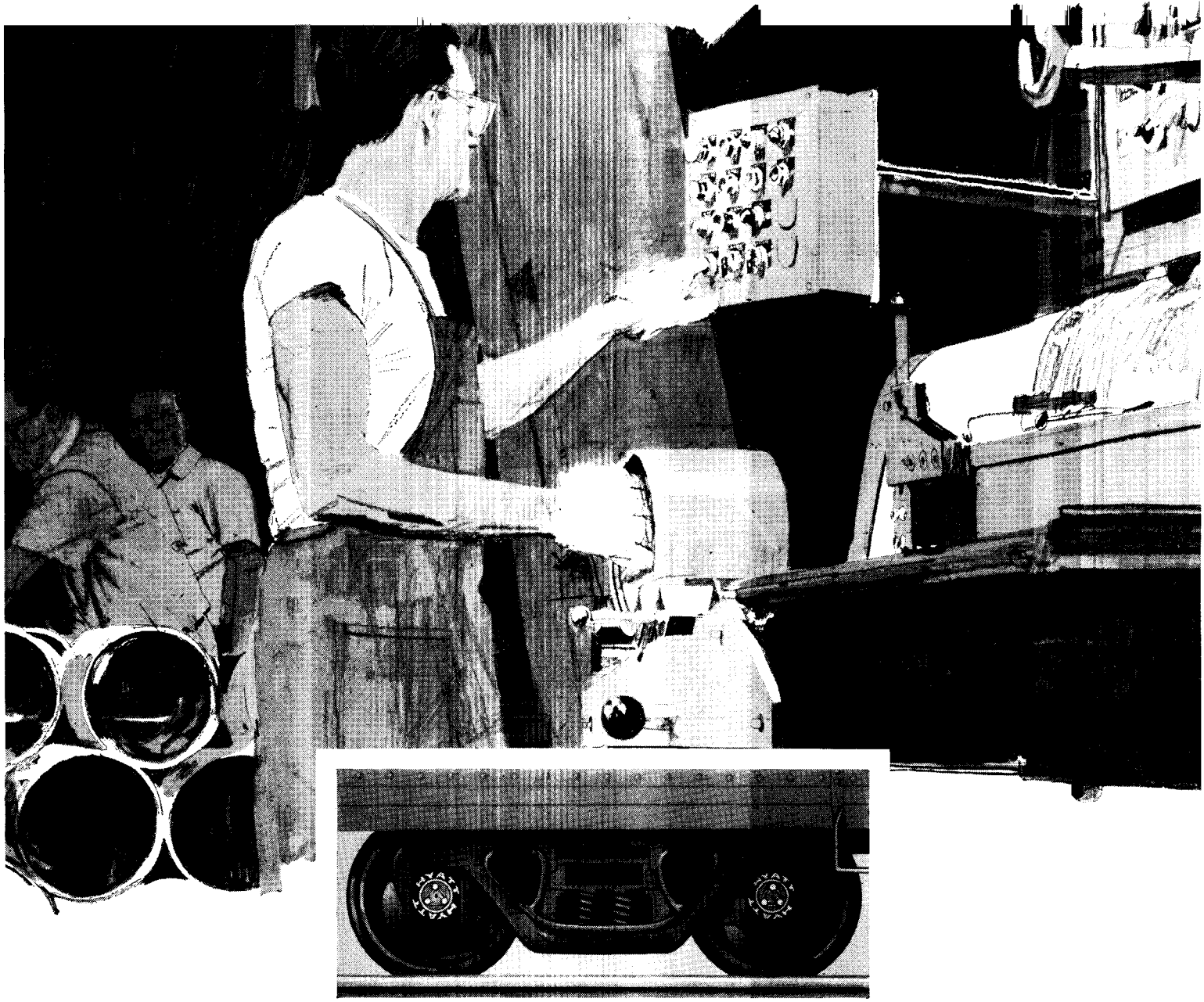
As it was, the "holy war" was full of holes. The Transit Authority had Quill put in jail, but the impact of the gesture softened when one remembered his bitter reaction after some union leaders were jailed back in 1957. Then he was engaged in breaking a strike by the subway motormen. Jailing their leaders, he complained, "was very, very wrong" because "they have made heroes of them." Quill no more wanted heroes made of the motormen then opposing his rule than he wanted much made of the inequities between the skilled and unskilled workers under him. (The men who ran the subway trains carrying as many as two thousand passengers earned less than the men who drove the city's garbage trucks.)

With such a background, it was hard to know what to make of the head of the Central Labor Council's agitation to get Quill out of jail. Sinister rumors cropped up everywhere, but it is a sign of desperate times for hidden agendas, real or fancied, to muddy the air. It is easier to talk about mysterious power plays or power brokers than to face up to the real issues involved in the transit strike.

More sticky, really, than the jailing of Quill was the Transit Authority's position against the union in court. It was asking damages of $322,000 a day, which came to a total of nearly $4 million, more than the record fine levied against John L. Lewis's United Mine Workers. It was a claim that couldn't be pressed strenuously during the strike and was dropped immediately afterward. Indeed, so impossible had the basic situation become that the Transit Authority was found lined up *with* the striking unions in another court, seeking to delay a decision on applying New York State's 1947 Condon-Wadlin Law. For that law brings up the stickiest point of all. It not only provides for the dismissal of public workers who strike but also prohibits them from getting the raise in pay decided upon for three years. It means, if applied, that the settlement finally arrived at is illegal, and that those who are now driving the buses and subways again must be fired. If the law were to be applied, it would mean that New Yorkers would have to start walking across the bridges again, or sit in their cars immobilized from green to red to green to red.

This absurd law was supposed to be revised last year, so as to be made workable. The Democrats reduced the penalties, while retaining the principle that strikes against the government are illegal. Governor Rockefeller vetoed it because it was too lenient, and the unions opposed it because of the ban on strikes. As a consequence, milder provisions that had been temporarily inserted at an earlier time were lost with the veto, and the law today is harsher than last year. It's not as simple as Calvin Coolidge made it when, as Governor of Massachusetts, he supported the firing of a group of striking Boston policemen. "There is no right to strike against the public safety," Coolidge said in 1919, "by anybody, anywhere, at any time." He has been echoed

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Man of Precision... he's always sure of his bearings

He should be. He's been intimately associated with them for a great many years. As a skilled employe of New Departure-Hyatt Bearings Division of General Motors, he operates a hydraulically controlled tracer lathe which machines the outer races of tapered roller journal bearings for railroad cars.

The workmanship is precise, the inspection process rigid, resulting in bearings as nearly perfect as the most highly refined production methods can make them.

Product quality and reliability are watchwords at New Departure-Hyatt. That's why the people who build, test and inspect these essential bearings are vital to the welfare of General Motors and its customers.

General Motors Is People... making better things for you

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

When you especially enjoy something—a book, a play, a movie, a magazine article—don't you feel you want to share it with friends?

Well, you *can* share THE REPORTER with friends.

We'll be pleased to send a free, sample copy of THE REPORTER to your friends—and add to your common interests.

Just write the names and addresses in the coupons below, mail them to us, and we shall send a free copy of THE REPORTER with your compliments. If you want to send it to more than two friends, attach a sheet with their names, and we'll oblige.

• NAME

STREET

CITY ZONE STATE

• NAME

STREET

CITY ZONE STATE

(May we mention your name? If so, please fill in):

YOUR NAME

STREET

CITY ZONE STATE

1-27-66

THE REPORTER

660 Madison Avenue, New York, N. Y. 10021

WFF 'N PROOF WFF 'N PROOF WFF 'N PROOF

GAMES FOR THINKERS

WFF 'N PROOF: The Game of Modern Logic $6.25
EQUATIONS: The Game of Creative Mathematics $2.75
WFF: The Beginner's Game of Modern Logic $1.50

PERFECT GIFTS FOR THOSE WHO ENJOY BRAIN TO BRAIN COMBAT

Can you solve this problem?

1. There are three numbered statements in this box.
2. Two of these numbered statements are not true.
3. The average increase in I.Q. scores of those who learn to play WFF 'N PROOF is more than 20 points.

Is statement No. 3 true?

A NEW DIMENSION IN EDUCATIONAL GAMES
by Yale Professor Layman E. Allen

Box 71DY New Haven, Conn.
Please send me .....WFF
.....EQUATIONS
.....WFF'N PROOF
I enclose $ ..... and understand that if I am not completely satisfied, I can return the games in 10 days for a full refund of the purchase price.
Name .....
Address .....
City..... State..... Zip.....
Refund and return privileges guaranteed!
Dealer Inquiries Invited

WFF 'N PROOF WFF 'N PROOF WFF 'N PROOF

down through the years, and by people who have confused striking against public safety with striking against the government. Is it, for example, a blow to public safety if clerks in state liquor offices decide to strike?

Finally, to bring up a different point, didn't the city give Quill the power he now has by taking over, bit by bit, nearly all the buses and subways once run privately? Certainly, such differences need to be recognized, and some kind of workable machinery devised to settle agreements for those special employees who cannot be allowed to strike. For they can strike—and do. And involuntary servitude never proved workable.

The "fun city," the "proud city" that Lindsay claims New York to be, may, perhaps mercifully, not be in sight. But is it too much to hope that its inhabitants won't again become *its victims*—or finally its inmates?

Debate in Search of a Forum

Even before the Senate and the House reconvened on January 10, the term "Vietnam Congress" was being used to describe the forthcoming session. There were—as there have been in the past—promises of a "full-scale debate" on the war and predictions that the issue would dominate the deliberations of both houses. No one who has been on the Hill recently and talked to the returning legislators could doubt that they are more than ever determined that this session will see an assertion of Congressional will and responsibility on the question of Vietnam in particular and the country's foreign relations in general.

Nevertheless, the same individual and institutional uneasiness that stymied Congressional action and discussion before is still very apparent. It has been reflected in the zigzag course of the Republican leadership's public pronouncements, in the privately expressed concern of many Democrats who look with disfavor on the administration's actions but are uncertain of the propriety of assailing them at this time, and in two questions that are simple to state but evidently difficult to answer: What is the appropriate

PRODUCED 2004 BY UMI/ProQuest
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

67 Reasons Why

it would have paid you to answer our ad a few months ago

A few months ago, we published a newspaper ad inviting readers to accept a trial subscription to U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT, on a money-back assurance of satisfaction.

We don't have room here even to begin to summarize the hundreds of pages of "useful news" you missed by not subscribing at that time. But here, at least, are 67 examples of the way U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT has enriched the thinking, the planning, and the conversation of its more than 1,400,000 readers since then . . . 67 of the reports, analyses and interviews that have given our readers a valuable "inside" look at the important trends and developments of our time.

1. Major Policy Changes The White House Is Considering
2. The Next Step in the War in Vietnam
3. More Federal Controls to Slow Inflation . . . ?
4. How to Keep the Boom Going – Top Economist
5. How Russia Plunders Her Iron-Curtain Allies
6. As Draft Calls Rise – Who'll Be Called
7. LBJ and Congress: The Programs He'll Push Hardest
8. Civil Rights – Newest Negro Demands
9. Why Do Top Students Shun Business Careers?
10. High Cost of Borrowing – What It Means
11. Where Mutual Funds Are Investing Their Money Now
12. Autos – Another Record Year in '66?
13. Cost of Living: What "Official" Figures Don't Show
14. Why West Germany Wants Closer Ties With the U.S.
15. New Candidates for "Nuclear Club"– 10 Nations
16. Policing Civil Rights: Akin to Enforcing Prohibition?
17. Shortage of Dentists: Why, and What It Means
18. Uneasy Peace on Russia-Red China Border – Eyewitness
19. New "Lease on Life" for U.S. Communist Party
20. France's Future – What Will Happen After De Gaulle?
21. More Inflation: How to Protect Yourself
22. The Big Bottleneck in the War in Vietnam
23. What U.S. Gives To, and Gets From, Her Allies
24. The Great Blackout – Questions Still Unanswered
25. Business Leaders View the Business Outlook
26. When You Look Closely at Today's Stock Prices
27. The Famine India Faces This Year
28. Cutback in Big Bombers: The Long-Range Effect
29. What "Great Society" Programs Will Cost in Years Ahead
30. Fresh Water From the Sea: Next Big U.S. Industry?
31. Castro's Next Target in Latin America
32. Coming: More Federal Help on Birth Control
33. "Youth Movement" in Big-Labor Hierarchy: Meaning
34. "C Notes" in Every Wallet? The Commonplace $100 Bill
35. The Coming Showdown on Bombers vs. Missiles
36. The Catholic "Way of Life"– Big Changes
37. Estate Taxes vs. Gift Taxes: Savings
38. Our Fading Farm Surpluses
39. Military Aspects of the Space Race
40. Where Research Billions Will Go
41. Cities in U.S. Where Business Is Best
42. What Rest of the World Thinks of LBJ
43. Who Gets What From College-Aid Plan
44. Civil Rights: Strategy for '66
45. Military Choices for College Men
46. Eyewitness: Jet-Strafing in Vietnam
47. Inflation: U.S. in Europe's Footsteps?
48. How LBJ Gets His Way
49. Plight of the Non-Negro Poor
50. How Your Tax Cut "Melts Away"
51. Outlook Now for Peace in Vietnam
52. Downtown Renewal Today in 18 Cities
53. The U.S. in 1972: Changes to Expect
54. Investments: Return You Can Get on Your Money Now
55. LBJ's 3rd Year: His Plans and Problems He Faces
56. The Worsening Crisis in Central Africa
57. How British Schools Handle Integration Problems
58. "City Hall" vs. Washington: War Over War On Poverty
59. The U.S. Intelligence Net: How It Works
60. Crime Crisis: Federal Aid for Local Police?
61. Where Additional Defense Dollars Will Be Spent
62. What Ever Happened to the Smoking "Scare"... ?
63. Getting Into College: Will It Be Easier This Year?
64. Big Changes in Schools: What Federal Billions Buy
65. Which Way for the Stock Market? Experts Advise
66. Humphrey and the Kennedys: How Things Stand
67. Business in Months Ahead: New Factors to Consider

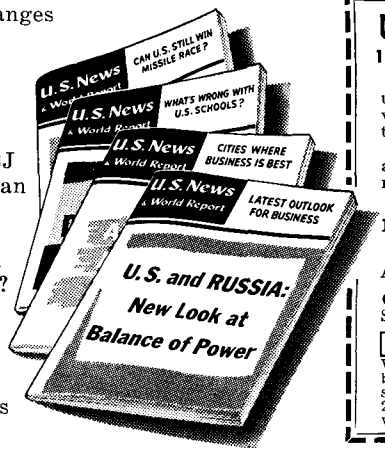
Every week U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT brings you *news you can use, news you didn't know and can't get elsewhere.* The editors not only report the news "behind" significant happenings. They go further and seek to answer the questions raised in your mind: "What does this news *mean* to me? My work? My family?"

You get special newsletter pages that give you a quick grasp of developments in every significant news area. Exclusive interviews with important newsmakers. Special reports based on weeks and months of study by experts. A comprehensive rundown of current trends in politics, foreign affairs, wages, prices, labor, science.

WHY NOT FIND OUT how valuable U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT can be *to you* in the crucial months ahead? To give you the opportunity to do so, we are again making an introductory offer. Here it is:

SEND NO MONEY

Simply mail the card at left or coupon below. You will receive the next 22 weekly issues of U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT for the Trial Subscription price of only $2.87 (a substantial saving). You need not send any money now – we'll be glad to bill you later. And your money will be cheerfully refunded at any time during your trial subscription if the magazine does not live up to your highest expectations. Thus you have nothing to lose by mailing the card or coupon – and we sincerely believe you have a great deal to gain. But do accept this Trial Subscription offer NOW – the very next issues will contain interesting reports about important developments and trends to watch in the *coming* months. U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT, Washington D.C. 20037.



U. S. News & World Report AT03-A

1414-78 24th St., N.W., Washington, D,C, 20037

I want to find out whether your magazine can be as useful as you say. Please send it each week for the next 22 weeks. You may send me a bill later for the trial subscription price of only $2.87 (a substantial saving).

It is understood that my $2.87 will be refunded in full at any time during this trial subscription if I find that the magazine does not live up to my expectations.

Name .....
(PLEASE PRINT)

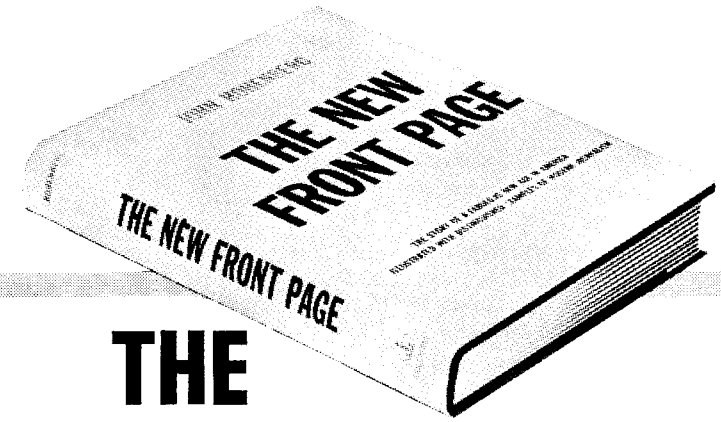
Address .....

City & State ..... Zip Code .....

☐ FOUR ADDITIONAL ISSUES AT NO EXTRA CHARGE – Check here if you are enclosing your check for $2.87 WITH this coupon. That will save us considerable clerical and bookkeeping expense and we'll pass this saving on to you by sending you 4 additional issues, making it 26 issues instead of 22. Of course, the same money-back privilege mentioned above will apply.

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The role of the journalist in the fabulous age of the information explosion



THE NEW FRONT PAGE

by **John Hohenberg**

Dramatic changes have revolutionized the work of the journalist. Satellites bring world statesmen face to face from opposite sides of the world. The splitting of the atom, the conquest of space, the civil rights struggle, the ever-present cold war, and the current hot war all create problems, and the strain is compounded by competition between the press, the news agencies, and the electronic media.

In the author's words, "This volume is devoted to an examination of the change in our national posture as it is reflected . . . on the front page of our daily newspapers. It coincides roughly with the five decades of the Pulitzer Prize in Journalism, first awarded in 1917, a good point from which to look forward as well as to look back. As might be expected, the Prizes themselves have developed into a barometer of journalistic change." Mr. Hohenberg describes the evolution of the newsman since the creation of the Pulitzer Prizes, documenting his narrative with examples of the work of James Reston, Walter Lippmann, Hodding Carter, Harrison Salisbury, Ralph McGill, and others. The record is presented with sympathy and honesty. It is a candid appraisal of how well the modern journalist is fulfilling the trust that is reposed in him. Illustrated with award-winning news photographs, $7.95

Also by

John Hohenberg

FOREIGN CORRESPONDENCE

The Great Reporters and Their Times

"A fast-paced, carefully documented book so full of glamour and excitement any incident could be retold as a swashbuckling novel. . . . John Hohenberg, who has roamed the world as a correspondent himself . . . tells the story of these men . . . with studied perception and great elan."—ALLAN KELLER, in the *New York World-Telegram and Sun.*
$8.95

At better bookstores

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS

2960 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10027

Congressional setting for a consideration of the Vietnam war? And how—or in what framework—is it to be considered?

There are any number of guesses at the moment in answer to the second question. The supplemental appropriation for the military effort should reach the floor of both houses fairly soon and may be the occasion for debate. A resumption of the bombings in the north would certainly bring it about sooner. And Senator Jacob Javits (R., New York) has a resolution in the works meant to produce a new sense-of-Congress position to supersede the resolution of support the President was given more than a year ago. Other opportunities might arise too, such as a Presidential decision to call up the armed forces reserves. The one thing all these possibilities have in common is that they would produce floor debates of a general, unorganized, and in some respects inexpert nature.

What about the committees? By logic and tradition, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee should be the center of any Congressional activity that occurs, and if it holds hearings they will be a major Congressional event. But for a number of reasons, it is considered unlikely that the committee will enjoy either primacy or exclusiveness in this year's debate. For one thing, the committee is, to use a member's phrase, "badly fractionated" on the question of Vietnam. For another, there has been a considerable coolness between the President and Chairman J.W. Fulbright (D., Arkansas) and the President himself has managed to dissipate the committee's authority further by selecting Majority Leader Mike Mansfield to lead a group of Senators on his recent fact-finding mission abroad.

Beyond that, both in the House and the Senate, other committees and other individual legislators have adopted aspects of the Vietnam conflict as their own special fields of interest and competence. It has been reported that in an early closed session of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, one member complained to his colleagues that other committees were competing for jurisdiction in foreign affairs, listing a number of prospective

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

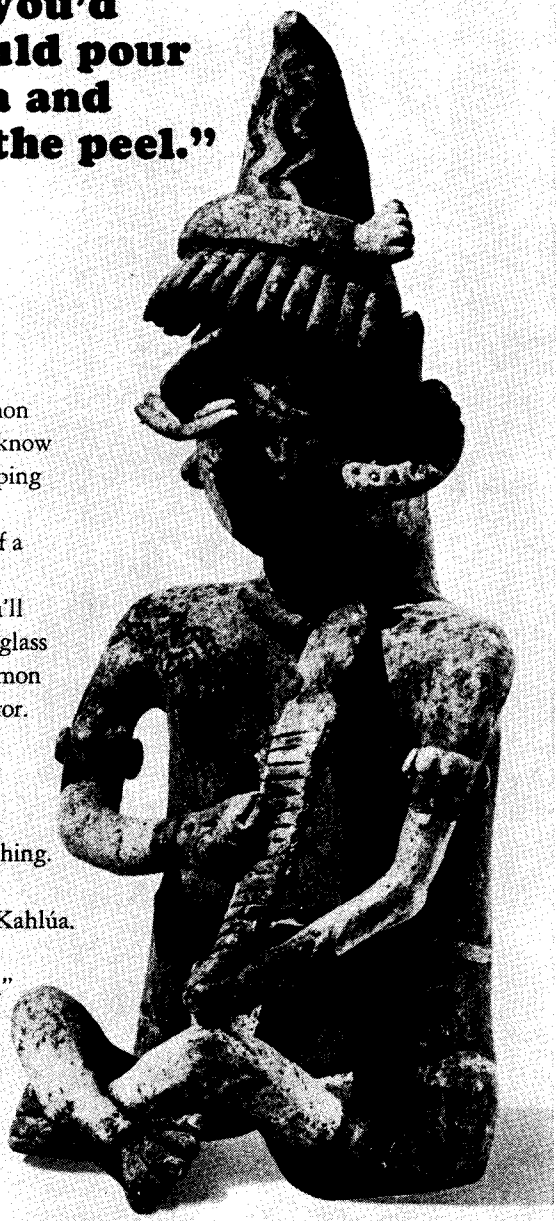
hearings as examples. Not all of these are said to have been related to Vietnam, although the Armed Services Preparedness Investigation Subcommittee is currently holding hearings on the U.S. military program there. The Government Operations Subcommittee on National Security and International Operations, for example, has become the Senate's authority on the foreign-policy-making process. A Judiciary subcommittee deals with refugee—and specifically Vietnamese refugee—matters. The Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, too, has made inroads on the Foreign Relations Committee's foreign-policy preserve.

It would be unfair to suggest that this trend is due to Chairman Fulbright's manner of running the committee or to its present membership. What the members might well consider, however, is whether the Senate and the committee have dealt adequately with the fundamental problem that the present Congressional confusion reflects, namely, the inevitable fragmentation of what once went by the generic term of foreign policy into increasingly specialized and technical subdivisions. The Senate as a whole, for instance, has lost some of its authority to the House in foreign affairs, specifically because foreign affairs these days have as much to do with appropriated funds as with treaty ratification. And the intimate and complex connection of U.S. foreign policy with military and scientific developments in the areas of arms control, weapons programs, and allied security arrangements is self-evident.

Unless the erosion of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee's responsibility is to continue, it is clear that the members are going to have to acquire more expertise and that Congress will have to consider whether its own committee structure is suitable in its present form for dealing with international problems in *their* present form. In all the discussion of the State Department's built-in deficiencies when it comes to coping with what is occurring overseas, it has been widely overlooked that Congress has much the same problem.

THIS AUTHENTIC PRE-COLUMBIAN FIGURE IS FROM THE FAMED KAHLUA COLLECTION.

"Just once you'd think I could pour the Kahlúa and you grate the peel."



"I never said I didn't like lemon tropi-Kahlúa dessert. But I know the routine. While I'm scraping back and forth you say you might as well make yourself a Black Russian while you're waiting. Or else you say you'll just have one small cordial glass full while I'm taking the lemon sherbet out of the refrigerator. And I'm not supposed to complain because it's my favorite dessert.

"Well, let me tell you something. Tonight after dessert we're going to have Irish Coffee Kahlúa. Only this time I pour the Kahlúa, you boil the water."

Lemon Tropi-Kahlúa Dessert

Pour Kahlúa over ball of lemon sherbet in dessert dish. Sprinkle with grated lemon peel. Garnish with a dash of whipped cream and cherry.

That's just one of the exciting desserts you can make with Kahlúa. We've written a Recipe Book telling you how to make more. Write us and we'll send you one. Gratis. (That's Latin for "free" in Mexican).

KAHLÚA 53 Proof Coffee Liqueur from Sunny Mexico

JULES BERMAN & ASSOCIATES, INC., 9025 WILSHIRE BLVD., BEVERLY HILLS, CALIF.

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The President's Speech

THE AMERICAN people have had more than ample time to come to know their President: he is not just a doer, but an overdoer. His latest speech is too long, crammed with too many subjects; his proposals for The Great Society and for the cause of peace are projected far beyond his tenure of office. This man is not a visionary or a radical: he is an exuberant middle-of-the-road extremist.

Politicians everywhere know that, to stay in power, they must offer to every strongly organized group and to the public at large plausible pledges that their desires will be satisfied. Even the post-Khrushchev team of Soviet leaders had to comply with this elementary rule of politics and give more weapons to the generals, more consumer goods to the public, and some evidences of peacemaking zeal. Lyndon Johnson, in his latest State of the Union message, listed a formidable assortment of reforms, and this weary Congress is on notice that it will receive a stream of messages with requests for urgent enactment. Some proposals are ritually to be found in State of the Union messages, like the ones on air and water pollution, transportation, the plight of the cities, and so on. Others, in the field of civil rights, are more venturesome. Some deal with modest subjects like mislabeled packages and cosmetics.

Who in the chambers of Congress and among the millions watching and listening could not help being impressed and thrown off balance by the enormous assortment of national and international projects? It is difficult to size up the popularity of this President, supported as he is by detached, yet deep, ever-renewed confidence. Sometimes he takes liberties with the hold he has on the nation—for instance, when he suggested for members of the House four-year terms "concurrent with that of a President." This would make the House docile to a President's will. How can Lyndon Johnson, this creature of Congress, be so confident of his successors' respect for Congressional prerogatives?

THE RELENTLESS energy of Lyndon Johnson has shown itself in sharpest relief in foreign matters. Here he is very much on his own, with no cronies among the heads of governments of other nations and a relatively short acquaintance with the ways of American diplomacy. He knows how vital an adequate defense system is for the survival of the country, although deep from his belief in God comes the prayerful hope to be the one destined to preside over the weapons-into-plowshares transmutation. But he is the President of the United States now, and to use his own words, he knows where "the cup of peril" is.

Our soldiers are fighting in Vietnam, and this President, who hates war and considers it madness, says: "The days may become months and the months may become years, but we will stay as long as aggression commands us to battle. To yield to force in Vietnam," he said, ". . . would whet the appetite of aggression. We would have to fight in one land, and then we'd have to fight in another—or abandon much of Asia to the domination of Communists." This is the tragic responsibility of our country: France could afford to abandon Indochina in the process of liquidating its empire. Our country is responsible for many peoples who have put their confidence in us and whose independence is threatened by Communism.

This President, possessed as he is by his devotion to peace, knows well that the way in which the war in Vietnam ends must be of such a nature as to establish a compelling precedent. It is quite proper and right not to wish for the unconditional surrender of those we are fighting: we have paid too heavy a price for the unconditional surrender of our enemies in the Second World War. But the aggressor must receive a measure of punishment.

Yet there is a theory going around on how to bring the war in Vietnam to an end: hostilities can peter out, it is said, and peace can sneak in. The assumption, of course, is that the other side, North Vietnam, the Vietcong, China, and, say it softly, the Soviet Union, will do the same. This scheme would simplify everything: no inspection, no controls. Everybody would be his own inspector, as the Communists have always wanted. According to some clever people, the whole idea is hinted at in a little phrase to be found in the meandering State of the Union message: "We'll respond if others reduce their use of force." Every day the likelihood of such an agreement leading to the end of the war is allegedly supported by more and more evidence that should be noticed, but discreetly.

THE SEARCH for peace in Vietnam has brought into existence a new device for which the President is unquestionably responsible: secret diplomacy, publicly heralded. It seems that G. Mennen Williams and Averell Harriman have superseded our ambassadors all over the world. At a press conference the President, asked whether the jet-propelled peace offensive would be pursued by sending special envoys, answered: "Yes, there will be envoys going to other capitals all the time . . . and as long as I am President that will continue."

Respectfully, we suggest that the President was somewhat exaggerating, and that, in his devotion to peace, he is for a change overdoing it.

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Back from Vietnam

EDMOND TAYLOR

LOOKING BACK at the time I spent in Southeast Asia, the remark of a highly qualified veteran of the struggle against Communist expansion keeps coming back to mind. "The basic books for an understanding of the conflict the United States is waging in Vietnam," he told me, "have been written by Lewis Carroll and Kafka." I think an adequate reference shelf should also include some works of history dealing with the fate of nations or governments—France's Fourth Republic, among others—that became involved in halfhearted wars against wholehearted enemies, and possibly a volume or two of Gibbon on the hazards of trying to achieve cut-rate security by playing one barbarian power against another.

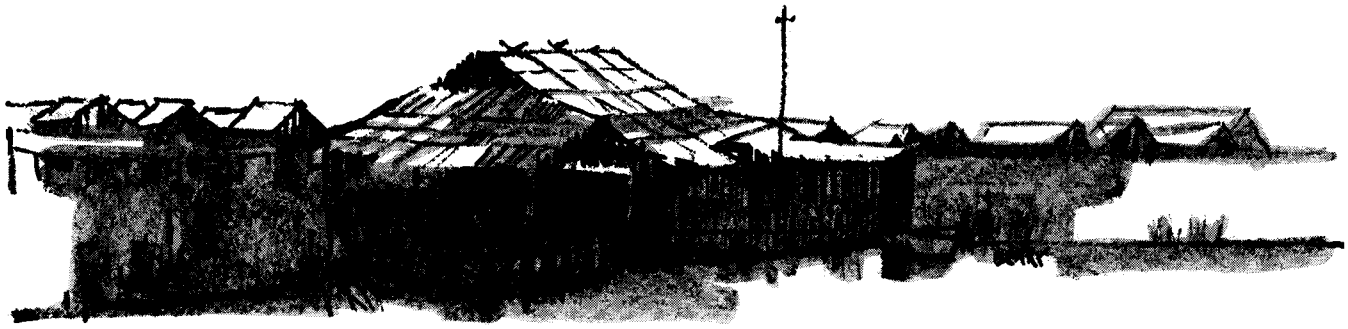
My notebooks covering two months' travel and reporting in Vietnam, Laos, and Thailand are peppered with direct or indirect quotations from U.S. military and civilian authorities in the area reflecting, sometimes almost in caricature, the through-the-looking-glass mentality that the war in Vietnam seems to develop among certain Americans in the embattled country itself no less than on campuses or in editorial offices at home. The ultimate example, I suppose, is contained in the notes I jotted down immediately after being subjected to a background briefing on the Ho Chi Minh trail by an American expert whom, before I talked to him, I had assumed to have outstanding qualifications for discussing the problem: "Amazing talk briefing followed by free-ranging exchange with A this morning," my notes read. "Writing it up immediately because would begin doubt own memory if I didn't. A's view almost diametrically opposed to consensus of Westmoreland's staff in Saigon; he agrees we can and should do more to harass PAVN [North Vietnamese regular forces] moving along trail through Laos and Cambodia to South Vietnam but thinks would not be to our military interest to block flow completely. Better to fight PAVNs in South Vietnam at end of their communication lines than up north at the country's border, he argues. More PAVNs who arrive in South Vietnam, the more we can dispose of with least effort and therefore the faster we can convince Hanoi aggression doesn't pay. Sounds almost convincing way A puts it, but if argument sound why harass Ho Chi Minh trail at all? Maybe USOM [U.S. economic assistance organizations] should set up joint project with Hanoi to surface entire trail; that way they could move even more PAVNs south for us to deal with."

It is probably just as well that the rules governing such briefings—and most of the talks that a correspondent has with American or other western officials in Southeast Asia—forbid any close identification of the source, even by function. The absurdities that one hears are seldom a reliable index of the intellectual caliber, professional competence, or patriotic dedication of the official. Some of the most distressing nonsense I listened to, especially in Saigon and in Vientiane, came from Americans noted among their colleagues around the world for courage, integrity, and tough-mindedness. Not infrequently the speaker does not himself believe what he is saying, but for reasons of policy feels that it is his duty to mislead the press while trying to avoid telling an outright lie. I strongly suspect, for example, that A's singular approach to the problem of the Ho Chi Minh trail, perhaps the key strategic issue of the war in Vietnam, was simply the result of an instruction from some superior authority to try to discourage correspondents from playing it up at that time, the time being the eve of the Johnson peace offensive and of the visit of Soviet Deputy Premier Shelepin to Hanoi.

Looking-Glass Logic

The theory—or chimera—that if only we display enough tact the Soviet Union can be converted into a de facto ally of the United States in Asia, sharing the military burden of containing Chinese expansion,

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



especially in Southeast Asia, has a strong hold on the minds of a number of U.S. officials in the area, especially among those with a New Frontier background. Naturally, those who believe in the doctrine of the Soviet counterweight dread any intensification or extension of the fighting in Vietnam that might embarrass the Soviet leaders vis-à-vis the Communist world and thus make it more difficult for them to "co-operate" with us in Southeast Asia.

Any stepped-up U.S. military activity in Laos to interdict the Ho Chi Minh trail is particularly and explicitly disapproved of by the people belonging to this school of thought because, as one of them explained to me, the Soviet Union, as a signatory and guarantor of the 1962 Geneva accords for the neutralization of Laos, might take umbrage if we violated them.

So far Moscow has taken no umbrage over the more than 1,500 violations of the accords by North Vietnam as noted by the International Control Commission, and indeed has preferred not to notice the present substantial though decently camouflaged U.S. military activity in Laos. Consequently it is argued by some hard-minded American diplomats in the theatre that a sizable increase of U.S. military pressure against the trail, as desired by General William C. Westmoreland, could be effected without major impact on our relations with Moscow, provided we continue to pay lip service to the fiction of Laotian neutrality. But the we-can-count-on-Russia school seems reluctant to accept any risk, however slight, of offending Soviet susceptibilities at this time. Hence the tendency to fall back on looking-glass logic in assessing the strategic role of the trail. (Ho Chi Minh's own assessment of it is indicated by the 10,000 or more crack PAVN troops, not to mention the 30,000 to 40,000 Pathet Lao guerrillas, permanently stationed on Laotian soil to protect the flow of reinforcements for the Vietcong in South Vietnam from ground harassment by U.S. or Royal Lao forces.)

ONE of the reasons why proponents of close co-operation with Soviet Russia in Asia often sound like Alice—or like a mixture of Alice and Walter Lippmann—is that there is a glaring disparity between the avowed vagueness of their objectives and the sacrifices, in terms of American prestige or even of American lives, they appear willing to make in order to promote them. "Russia is co-operating with us in India to help India resist Chinese expansion," one well-informed spokesman said to me, "but of course we can't expect the Soviets to go as far as that in Hanoi; if they counterbalance Chinese influence there to some degree it is probably a good thing from our viewpoint, even if it involves intensified Soviet military aid to North Vietnam. Surely it would be to our long-term interest if an increased Soviet presence in Southeast Asia led to some reduction in both the Chinese and the U.S. presences there."

The thesis that an increased Soviet "presence" anywhere in Asia is advantageous to U.S. national interests seems highly debatable, especially to someone who, like myself, has had the opportunity to see what the supposed U.S.-Soviet co-operation in India really implies. There may be a macabre logic in tolerating increased Soviet military assistance to North Vietnam, but it seems stretching reason beyond the breaking point to accept paralyzing restrictions on our conduct of the war in Vietnam simply to enjoy the privilege of seeing Russian rather than Chinese bullets kill American soldiers. Yet to date that is the only tangible benefit anyone can promise from the enhancement of Soviet influence in Southeast Asia we seem so anxious to encourage. If it is true, as some say, that Moscow has been urging Hanoi to adopt a more flexible attitude toward peace negotiations, no one as yet dares to claim he has detected any reliable signs that Hanoi is responsive to Soviet advice. Some of the best qualified U.S. Asian experts doubt seriously that the North Vietnamese leaders could break loose from China and modify their present unconditional-victory policy even if they wanted to.

OCCASIONALLY a reporter who listens carefully will pick up from certain diplomatic sources both in the Souteast Asian capitals and in New Delhi what appear to be discreet hints of tacit Soviet-U.S. understandings on some subjects dating back to the Kennedy-Khrushchev meeting in Vienna in 1961—understandings that go substantially beyond such public agreements as the Test Ban Treaty banning above ground nuclear tests or the 1962 Laos accords. It is just barely conceivable, therefore, that the top-secret files of the State Department and the White House contain evidence that if it could be revealed might enable American representatives in Asia to justify the hopes some of them seem to place in co-operation with Moscow as the key to peace in Vietnam—and throughout this vast continent—without sounding like the Mad Hatter. A reporter lacking access to such evi-

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

dence, if it exists, can only view with dismay what at best appears to be an example of diplomatic professionalism breaking free from the gravitational field of twentieth-century political reality and orbiting in a universe of pure fancy.

Some Americans one encounters, notably in Saigon, seemingly go out of their way to invent new and totally unnecessary taboos and purely theoretical dilemmas for themselves. One such was the official who, according to my notes, was already worrying last November—somewhat prematurely, it seemed to me—about the possibility of our inflicting such a crushing defeat on Ho Chi Minh that it would sweep away his régime and cause North Vietnam itself to be swallowed up by China, thereby "bringing Chinese power down to the 17th parallel, which clearly would not be to our long-term interests in Asia." Then there was the senior official who has demonstrated his personal courage and patriotism by voluntarily remaining in South Vietnam far longer than the normal call of duty, but who argued vehemently against bombing Hanoi on the grounds that if we adopted such a course the Vietcong would no longer feel inhibited in unleashing all-out terrorism against American installations in Saigon. (Whatever inhibitions the Vietcong may have had, they bombed the Metropole Hotel only a few days later.)

The Problem of the Trail

Perhaps it is impossible to win the struggle in Vietnam—or even to avoid a humiliating defeat—unless we abandon the whole concept of limited war and cast off all the self-imposed restrictions on its prosecution, regardless of the consequences. Some of the rare and generally rather subdued hawks favor such a course. Others, by no means dovelike in their opposition to Communist expansionism, fear that through reckless escalation of the Vietnam war we might blunder—at a time and place of the enemy's choosing—into a major conflict with China. Moreover, these Americans say, unlimited expansion of the war in Vietnam—or a policy of uninhibited frightfulness in waging it—is not necessary to achieve our essential objectives there. Some hard decisions may yet have to be taken, they admit, and some carefully calculated risks accepted; all that is needed is for the military to display some initiative and imagination in applying the directives they have already been given and in utilizing the resources now at their command.

Whether it is altogether fair to blame the military establishment for what strikes an impartial observer as the undeniably brass-bound conduct of the war is hard to say. It would certainly be unfair to pin the blame personally on General Westmoreland, one of the most hobbled and politically harassed grand captains in the history of warfare, who must shoulder the essential responsibilities of a theatre commander without having the traditional authority of one. The problem of the Ho Chi Minh trail illustrates some of the deficiencies of our approach. Westmoreland and his staff are said to be convinced that more effective measures than the bombing attacks we were making regularly before the Johnson aerial truce are needed to choke off the flow of Vietcong reinforcements from North Vietnam (now estimated at more than 2,500 a month). The obvious place to cut the trail (actually a complex of roads, trails, and waterways) is where it runs through Laos, though some U.S. experts in Saigon attach almost as much stragetic importance to the Communist bases and supply line in eastern Cambodia.

To seal the route totally and in relative safety by conventional means would imply planting several U.S. divisions in one of the wildest jungles of Asia. The logistic problem of maintaining so considerable a force would itself be tremendous. It is therefore understandable, if not quite excusable, that military spokesmen in Saigon sometimes prefer to lead correspondents on conducted tours through the looking glass by simultaneously boasting to them about the effectiveness of our air attacks on the Ho Chi Minh trail (which actually seem to have had very little effect) and wringing their hands over the steady increase in military traffic along the trail since the attacks began.

Yet there are various less conventional solutions to the problem of the trail which, though neither completely effective nor wholly without risk, might be worth considering: hit-and-run commando raids on depots and staging areas, intermittent harassment from secure jungle bases, and air cavalry sweeps, to mention a few. By the imaginative use of the fantastic detection devices of various sorts available to our armed forces, which, thanks to the techniques of air-ground co-operation, have been raised to a new pitch of efficiency during the Vietnam war, it is possible today to conceive of long-range operations behind the enemy lines in jungle country whose audacity would have left a Wingate breathless. But audacity implies risk, and the boldest American commander, given the present confused state of American opinion and the irresponsible attitude of part of the American press, would scarcely dare to risk even a U.S. battalion on an operation, however attractive strategically, that with bad luck might turn into what some headline writers would be likely to call an American Dienbienphu.

Battling the Clock

Our reluctance so far to move against the privileged Vietcong sanctuary in Cambodia is less excusable, for neither the logistic nor the political difficulties to be overcome are really serious. The recent public announcement here that a so-called Free Cambodian maquis was beginning to operate in Cambodia may indicate that at long last the problem is being dealt with. It should be no great problem to discover in South Vietnam a sufficient number of Free Cambodian volunteers to clean out the North Vietnamese occupation force that has established itself in eastern Cambodia (whether with or without the explicit permission of Prince Sihanouk is not quite clear). Covertly arranging maritime and fluvial mishaps of various kinds for the ostensibly neutral vessels that have been smuggling arms into both Cambodia and South Vietnam should be even easier. (And while we are at it, it might be useful if the Saigon government would give dispensation to some freedom-loving Montagnard rebels in the remoter fastnesses of North Vietnam who would claim the

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

same recognition at an eventual peace conference that Hanoi demands for the Vietcong rebels in South Vietnam.)

Both our military and political authorities in Vietnam—and to some extent throughout Southeast Asia—often give the impression of lacking political realism through failure to take time into account as a key psychological factor in our strategy for the war. U.S. civilian experts talk glibly about the need for the American people to face a generation of conflict in Southeast Asia, and the military experts give one the impression that no decisive operations can be launched before the end of the present U.S. troop buildup—assuming that it continues as planned—some time next winter. By then it seems only too likely that the enemy will be more numerous and better armed than he is today, and the American people more war-weary than they are now—unless someone in the meantime has been able to offer them a realistic and therefore convincing program for ending the struggle honorably, at an acceptable cost and within a reasonable span.

THE ONE TASK we cannot shirk in Vietnam is finishing the job we committed ourselves to in the eyes of Asia to complete: that of effectively putting a stop to all North Vietnamese military intervention in South Vietnam's civil war. Any betrayal of this self-imposed mission, however camouflaged by worthless international guaranties, illusory controls, and fallacious free determination, would irretrievably damage our prestige, our honor, and even our national integrity. If we abandon our Vietnamese allies—for they are that, whatever their faults, and they have been faithful in their fashion—while they are the victims of outside aggression, we shall never find any others in Asia, or probably anywhere else.

To avert such a consequence, we should mobilize all the power necessary to crush the enemy's resistance and achieve a rapid, clear-cut victory. The longer the present looking-glass war in Southeast Asia goes on, the greater the likelihood that it will lead either to a catastrophic and dishonorable peace or to a general conflagration.

The Ho Chi Minh Trail And Our Thai Buildup

DENIS WARNER

BANGKOK

"WITHIN three hours of their arrival here by air we could have the troops on the road with everything they need in the way of equipment." The briefing officer from the 7th U.S. Maintenance Battalion spoke with pride as he showed me around the supply depot in Korat, Thailand. With a minimum of publicity and what appears to be maximum efficiency, this little-known and depressed economic and political center of the fifteen backward northeastern Thai provinces has become a military base with impressive offensive and defensive potentials.

The tanks, the amphibious carriers, the trucks and jeeps are loaded and ready to go. The guns are hitched to their carriages. Under a huge tent inflated by compressed air I counted more than a hundred jeeps. They occupied only a small part of the 176,000 square feet of covered space available. There are another 144,000 square feet of semipermanent installations providing controlled-humidity storage space. There are miles of water and oil pipelines, and immense stacks of barbed wire. Complete bridge units are loaded on trucks. There are railway ties and rails, ammunition, guns—the lot.

The amount of supplies is secret, but there is enough to keep the 7th Maintenance Battalion busy full time. "You can say that we have more than 41,000 tons of equipment valued at $50 million if you like," the briefing officer told me. "Or you might say that we have more than enough for a battalion and less than enough for a division." An educated guess suggests that the higher estimate may well be conservative, but in any event the materiel now available is primarily of symbolic importance. Impressive as the buildup is, it is overshadowed by the emergency program now under way that within a few months will multiply Korat's military potential and, if need be, permit expansion of the already established control unit, the 9th U.S. Logistical Command "B," to its full capacity of between 35,000 and 65,000 support troops and a field force of 100,000 combat troops.

AS A BASE, Korat still suffers from many handicaps. Improved rail communications and the construction of the Friendship Highway in 1958 halved the travel time to and from Bangkok. But Bangkok is itself a bottleneck. Four-fifths of Thailand's expanding foreign trade passes through its inadequate port facilities, and it cannot cope with the operational needs of a "B"-category U.S. logistical command.

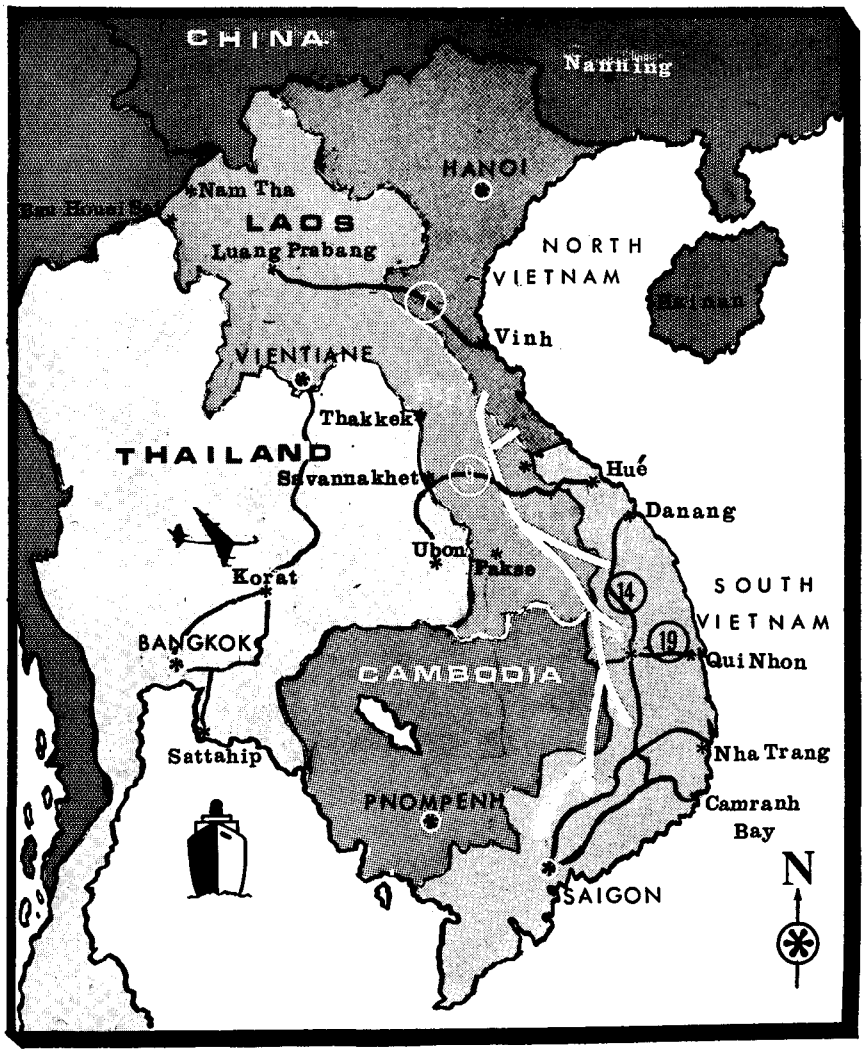
To meet the situation, the United States is building a new military airfield, port, and over-the-beaches landing zone at Ban Sattahip, about a hundred miles south-southeast of Bangkok. Existing roads and rail lines between Ban Sattahip and Korat are being improved and the 538th Engineer Battalion is completing a 163-mile direct all-weather route between the two bases through the rugged limestone hills that skirt the southern rim of the Korat plateau. The road is scheduled to be fully operational in March. "If you think Camranh Bay is impressive, go to Sattahip about the middle of the year and see what is doing there," one American officer told me. "There has never been another military pipeline quite like this."

Along with these urgent road-construction projects, which by unofficial estimate will cost more than $100 million this year, the 379th U.S. Signal Battalion, with headquarters in Korat, is erecting communications equipment to link northeast Thailand with Vientiane, Bangkok, and Saigon. Permanent long-range installations have already been built at Korat and Ubon, a USAF fighter-bomber and Australian fighter base. Elsewhere, scatter-radio

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sets that provide twenty-four channels and sixteen teletype circuits are being replaced by improved heavy-duty units, able to operate over as many as sixty channels and at a much greater range.

Though none of this information is regarded as sensitive, U.S. and Thai authorities are much more touchy on the question of the development and use of airfields in the northeast. As everyone in the area is well aware, however, airfield development has not lagged; the bomb-laden planes constantly taking off from Korat and Ubon for Laos and Vietnam are not engaged in routine training missions. The runway at Korat is more than two miles long, and even bigger ones are planned for the new airfield at Ban Sattahip. All three will be able to handle the largest U.S. bombers and transport planes.



A Handful of Dissidents

Thanks to the Rusk-Thanat agreement of 1962 on U.S. bilateral (as well as collective) responsibilities under SEATO, and to Washington's demonstrable determination to honor its pledges in Southeast Asia, Thailand has become a highly cooperative ally. It is also a threatened one. Though Marshal Chen Yi's promise that 1965 would see the outbreak of revolutionary war in the country went unfulfilled, there is no doubt that the creation of an insurgency situation in the northeast is a matter of priority for Hanoi and Peking. A Thai government report on November 26 that twenty-four police agents had been murdered in an upsurge of Communist terrorism was followed on December 15 by the announcement in Peking of the merger of the Thailand Independence Movement and the Thailand Patriotic Front, both Peking creations and both pledged to the "patriotic struggle" against the Thai government and the United States.

It has been twelve months since Peking first announced the existence of the Front and the Movement, and so far neither appears to have made significant progress. Their leadership is confined to a handful of Thai left-wing dissidents living in Peking. Two of the best known are Mongkon Nanakorn, who was imprisoned in Thailand for Communist activities in 1953 and released two years later, and Phayom Chulanont, a former member of Parliament, who left the country in 1963. Phayom went as the "Thai delegate" to the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Conference in Ghana last May, and Mongkon led a "Thai trade-union delegation" to the International Trade Union Solidarity Conference at Hanoi in June. But speculation continues in Bangkok that the merger may mean that Peking has given orders for an advance in Communist timetables in the northeast, and especially in the heavily infiltrated province of Nakhon Phanom, which is conveniently close to Communist Pathet Lao centers of activity around Thakhek across the Mekong in Laos.

STILL, the size and form of the American buildup at Korat suggests that it is not only intended for use against the sort of insurgency situation that might conceivably develop. To fight such a war of national liberation successfully, Thailand must cope with the problems of administration, police intelligence, and, in the longer haul, social and economic programs. It is difficult to see how the commitment of American military power on the scale of the Ban Sattahip-Korat preparations would be appropriate or even useful for those purposes.

Any meaningful U.S. contingency planning would, of course, have to take into account the possibility, however remote, of a Chinese or Vietminh diversionary attack against Thailand. As a base for meeting such an attack, Korat has many disadvantages. Though the town itself is often called the gateway to the northeast, it is both remote and geographically isolated from the north, the one part of Thailand in which Chinese action might be expected or is even possible. For sev-

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

eral years Chinese roadbuilders have been active in Yunnan Province and beyond. Chinese military engineers built a road from Yunnan into the Laotian province of Phong Saly, where General Khammouane Bhoupa, the local military commander, has long acted independently of both the Pathet Lao and Royal Lao elements and in close collaboration with the Chinese. Another Chinese road runs from Yunnan to Nam Tha. As the rightist General Phoumi Nosavan discovered in 1962, the road from Nam Tha to Ban Houei Sai on the Mekong River border is quite suitable for the rapid movement of troops. But to counter such a threat on the ground, Korat is located in the wrong place, both tactically and on the basis of existing lines of communication.

It is much better sited as a shield for defensive operations against a Pathet Lao-Vietminh incursion through the northeast. Of all contingencies, however, this is least likely. A second front in northeastern Thailand would be useful to the Vietminh, but not if it involved a diversion of their own resources and brought Thailand directly into the war. Even so, the big U.S. buildup at Korat represents an important psychological reassurance to the Thais. Over the longer term it could also serve as a major supply base for U.S. forces in Southeast Asia, ready to back up the function of Camranh in an emergency.

Road Map to Victory

It is difficult to escape the thought that the Korat base and its enormously costly link to Ban Sattahip could also provide a potential jumping-off point to counter Vietminh use of the Ho Chi Minh trail in Laos. This possibility has certainly not escaped the attention of Russian, North Vietnamese, and other diplomats in Vientiane.

Air action against North Vietnam and the Ho Chi Minh trail during the past twelve months has had the contradictory effect of both exacerbating the problems facing the Vietminh cadres and main-force units moving south and at the same time stimulating this flow. Now, more than ever before, the trail is a significant factor in the war. The movement of supplies along its maze of bridle paths, tracks, and roads is probably small enough to be relatively unimportant; but the volume of manpower (even if Saigon's estimates of the increased dry-season flow are exaggerated) is such that it threatens to nullify the best of efforts in South Vietnam.

The increasing U. S. air capability in Thailand and Vietnam and the recent use of Guam-based B-52s points to heavier bombing of the trail. Yet experience here and in Korea suggests that interdiction from the air is simply not possible. The ingrained Vietcong fear of defoliation by chemical spray could conceivably be exploited to add to the fears and the perils of the route, but at best this would be no more than a harassment. Small-scale commando actions would have the same effect, and would inevitably prove costly. The regions through which the trail passes in Laos are sparsely populated, but, to the Vietcong's enormous advantage, the local tribesmen's loyalty to them is complete, especially in the wilderness of southeastern Laos.

Despite seemingly effective landslide bombing missions, the Vietcong have continued to use two main entry routes into Laos from North Vietnam, the Mu Gia and Nape passes. Two roads, including one newly built, run south to the main staging post of Tchepone on Route 9. A third access route crosses the demilitarized zone in the Vietcong-dominated northwestern region of South Vietnam and picks up Route 9.

Route 9 is critical. Deny it to the Vietcong and the trail is out. But this is neither tactically nor logistically feasible in an operation mounted exclusively in South Vietnam. The 1st ARVN Division in Quang Tri Province, at the eastern end of Route 9, is experienced and effective. While its successes in recent months have been outstanding, it cannot by itself consolidate its gains in the immensely difficult terrain where Route 9 crosses the Laotian border. To perform this limited task, which would at most deny the Vietcong only one of the three main lines of communication from North Vietnam into Laos, would not only require substantial reinforcement but would tax the logistical capabilities of the American and Vietnamese forces at Hué and Danang. But to attempt a more substantial operation from bases on the coast would be next to impossible.

A MORE OBVIOUS threat to the Ho Chi Minh trail could be directed through Pakse and Savannakhet in western Laos, where the going is much easier. Provided that northeastern Thailand does not erupt into full-scale insurgency, the lines of communication would be secure. Moreover, the new supply route from Ban Sattahip through Korat would relieve South Vietnam of the major logistical strain of an operation that could eventually require three or more divisions.

It may be argued that such an operation would destroy all that remains of the 1962 Geneva Agreement on Laos. The political issues involved the reaction of both Vientiane and the Soviet Union and could present problems. It has, however, long been apparent that North Vietnam signed that agreement only to safeguard its own unlawful and vital corridor to South Vietnam. So far, the preservation of the fiction of Laotian neutrality and noninvolvement has been useful in maintaining relative tranquillity in Vientiane. But to those in the field who favor such an operation, this consideration is hardly a match for the issues at stake in Vietnam and the frustration of the American effort threatened by the continued and expanding use of the Ho Chi Minh trail. To these men, the questions that matter are whether there is demonstrable evidence that the North Vietnamese have abrogated the Geneva Agreement by their use of the Ho Chi Minh trail, whether the reinforcements using the trail are of major significance in the Vietcong war effort, and finally, whether ground action against the trail would prove effective.

There can be no doubt about the answer to the first two questions. As for the third, many responsible military men believe that the difficulties to be overcome would be rewarded by the results. It is, therefore, not inconceivable that Korat, already a psychological threat to the Vietminh, may eventually be invested with a major role in future U.S. offensive plans in South Vietnam.

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Rhode Island's Misspent Youth

JOHN M. BERRY

RHODE ISLAND occupies a very special place in the hearts of officials at the headquarters of the Neighborhood Youth Corps in Washington: they wish they had never heard of it.

Only a few months ago the smallest state was a showplace of sorts for the Youth Corps program. After Congress had provided funds for the Youth Corps late in 1964, most Rhode Island communities hastened to secure some of the Federal largesse. So many projects sprouted during the spring and summer, in fact, that by last August there was fear that Washington would order a cutback because it was using most of its appropriation for the entire country in New England. Not even President Johnson could have wished for a more rapid implementation of a Great Society program.

But in the expansion of the Youth Corps in Rhode Island, both Federal and local officials overlooked some crucial matters, including the fact that the program was for the poor, not for everybody. On September 17, the Providence *Journal-Bulletin* published the first of a series of reports on its investigation into the operation of the eighteen projects in the state. By mid-November the newspaper had found serious irregularities in seven projects involving seven communities, and investigations by Youth Corps officials, prompted by the newspaper's revelations, had resulted in the shutdown of an eighth project and indications of irregularities in still another.

The Youth Corps, established by the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, is intended to reach girls and boys sixteen to twenty-one years of age who are from poor families and are not high-school graduates. It goals are twofold: first, to provide income to high-school dropouts while giving them work-experience opportunities and encouraging them to return to school; second, to provide income to youths still in school who might otherwise be forced by family circumstances to drop out and get a job.

IN Rhode Island the *Journal-Bulletin* reporters found widespread enrollment of children from middle- or high-income families; enrollment of high-school graduates and even some college students; rejection of eligible youths because they had no job skills; employment of youths on jobs at church camps and parish houses, something clearly forbidden in the Economic Opportunity Act; and city officials who were being paid with Federal funds for full-time work with the Youth Corps but who had never left their city jobs.

When the *Journal-Bulletin* began publishing its reports, $1,519,265 had been given to Rhode Island. The projects had provided jobs for 4,071 youths. A preliminary Federal audit of projects in the towns of Jamestown, Johnston, Central Falls, Cranston, Newport-Middletown, and North Providence, where 1,004 persons participated, found at least 263 ineligible youths on the rolls. The newspaper, using sources of information about the participants' family income other than that provided by the youths, put the figure somewhat higher.

The real significance of what happened in Rhode Island—and what is worrying Youth Corps officials—is that the state is hardly unique. If nearly half the projects in Rhode Island were not being operated properly, what about the rest of the country?

Representative John E. Fogarty, a Rhode Island Democrat who heads the House Appropriations Committee subcommitee responsible for the Youth Corps budget as well as those of the other poverty programs, believes that as many as three-fourths of the thousand or so projects in the nation might contain similar abuses. Jack Howard, national director of the Youth Corps, has estimated that as many as a fourth of the thousands of youths enrolled nationwide may have been ineligible.

In late October, after the newspaper had published three of its reports, Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz, whose department has the responsibility of operating the Youth Corps, was moved to defend it. In only seven communities across the nation, he noted with pride, had anyone found evidence of irregularities. He expressed no concern that three of the seven were found in Rhode Island.

That only seven had been found evidently was the result of the fact that no one had looked. The *Journal-Bulletin* continued to look in Rhode Island and found several others. Its stories prompted the Boston *Herald-Traveler* to investigate projects in the Massachusetts capital, where more mismanagement, even outright theft of Federal funds, was discovered. These were added to an earlier list of abuses found in Kansas City, Kansas, Bellevue, Nebraska, Wilmington, Delaware, and Carlinville, Illinois.

The implications of what was found in Rhode Island and elsewhere may provide Howard and Sargent Shriver, director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, which has budgetary responsibility for the Youth Corps, with some uneasy moments when they go before Representative Fogarty's subcommittee to ask for the 1966-1967 appropria-

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Variable Sweep Wings: A report from General Dynamics

A major step forward in aircraft design:

This week, several pilots redesigned their airplanes in flight. Shortly after takeoff, each pilot moved a trombone-shaped slide in his cockpit and folded back the wings of his plane.

The ability to do this made the F-111's they were flying the first aircraft that can (1) operate from short landing fields, *and* (2) fly economically for long subsonic cruise ranges or ferry itself across an ocean, *and* (3) strike supersonically at treetop height *or* dash at two-and-a-half times the speed of sound at an altitude of 12 miles.

The key is its variable sweep wing. Today the first eight developmental F-111's, built by General Dynamics, are daily demonstrating the feasibility of a movable wing—a development that finally makes a truly multipurpose airplane practical.

The matter of flight envelope:

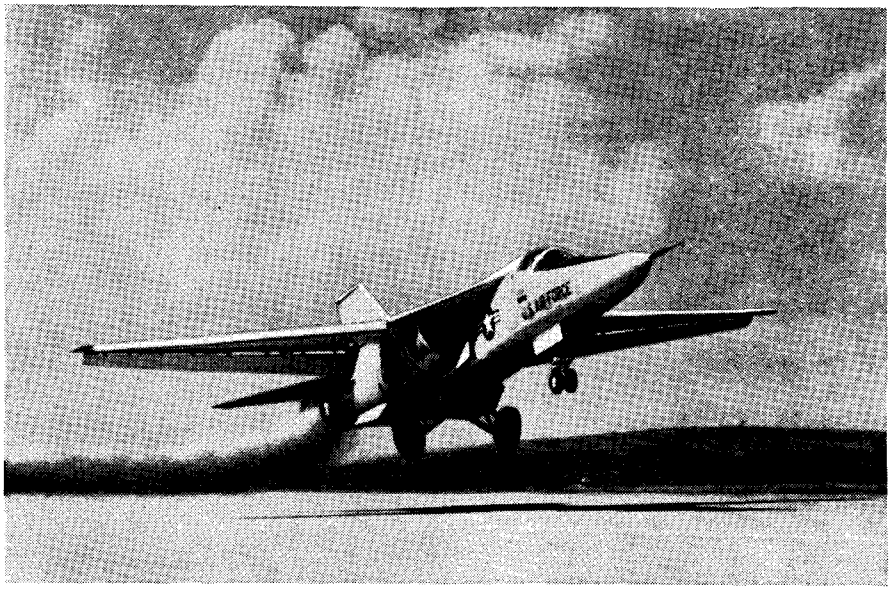
Every aircraft has a specific "envelope" —a set of limitations, or boundaries, of speed and altitude, within which it can operate effectively. The final design of a plane depends upon which of several possible purposes is most important.

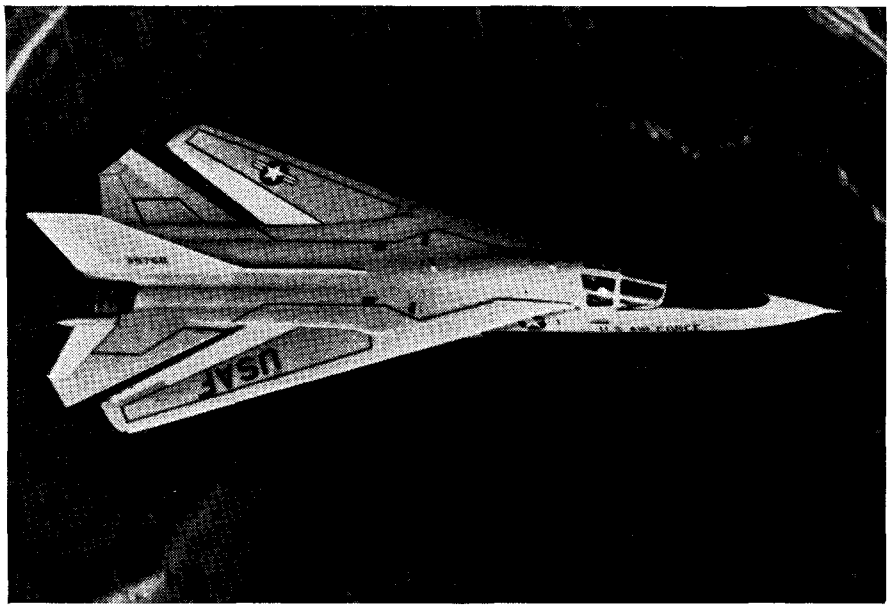
A long wing extended straight out is best for short takeoff and landing, long range and endurance, or high load-carrying characteristics. For the high lift demanded, a large amount of wing surface is needed.

But as speed increases, less lift is needed from the wings. In fact, at high speeds, large wings increase resistance from the air. Such an airplane can be pushed to supersonic speed by brute power, but not efficiently.

This resistance is commonly called drag, and one way to reduce it has been to sweep the wing back. For instance, the modern passenger jet, whose wings are partially swept back, can fly efficiently for long distances just below the speed of sound. But the swept wing provides less lift, and such aircraft need long runways, sometimes up to two miles long, and special braking devices.

Very high speeds—faster than sound —can best be reached with a very small wing, sometimes in a triangle or delta shape. But the still lower lift can require even longer runways, and additional braking devices such as drogue parachutes. The very small wing offers considerably less fuel efficiency for long-range, subsonic flight.





Top: The F-111 with its wings extended straight out for high lift at takeoff.
Bottom: Wings being swept back to allow F-111 to reach supersonic speeds.

Three aircraft in one:

A wing whose position can be changed by a pilot *in flight* gives a single airplane the special talents of all three types. With the wing fully extended, the aircraft has high lift for short takeoff or landing or high-load capacity. With the wings partially swept, efficient long-range subsonic flight becomes practical. Pulling the wings all the way back to their smallest exposed area provides supersonic dash, without having sacrificed either high lift or cruise economy.

Previous—and impractical—attempts to achieve variable wing geometry go all the way back to 1911. The chief problem: an undesirable relationship between center of gravity and center of lift as the wings moved would cause an airplane to nose up and down sharply—become longitudinally unstable.

How it operates:

Not until 1960 did the National Aeronautics and Space Administration conceive the answer to this instability—simultaneously sweeping both wings around separate pivot points which were moved out on the wing root rather

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

than having a single pivot in the center of the fuselage. The concept has been refined and developed by General Dynamics through more than 22,000 hours of wind tunnel testing, and more than 25 million man-hours of design and development.

The F-111's variable wing can be moved in flight from its fully extended position (technically with 16° of sweep measured at the leading edge) to a full sweep of 72.5°, with the wings tucked back against (and much of them actually inside) the fuselage for a narrow delta shape. The position of the wings can be set and held at any position between these two extremes, with the pilot himself deciding what wing setting is best for maximum performance in a given set of circumstances. He can normally lever the wings from one extreme to the other in about twenty seconds.

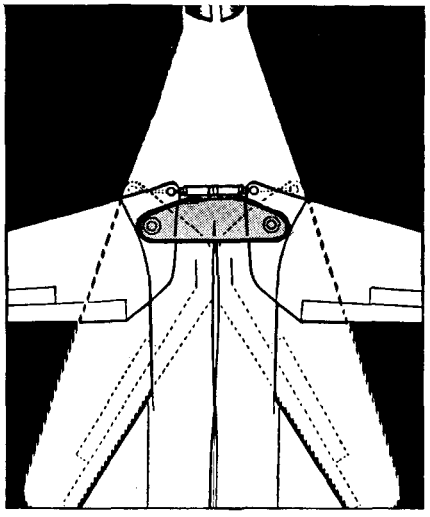
The precision of design is so exact and the wing so balanced that negligible elevator trim is needed to compensate for full sweep of the wing.

Heart of the system:

The heart of the F-111's variable sweep system is a 14-foot steel yoke across the fuselage (see drawing below).

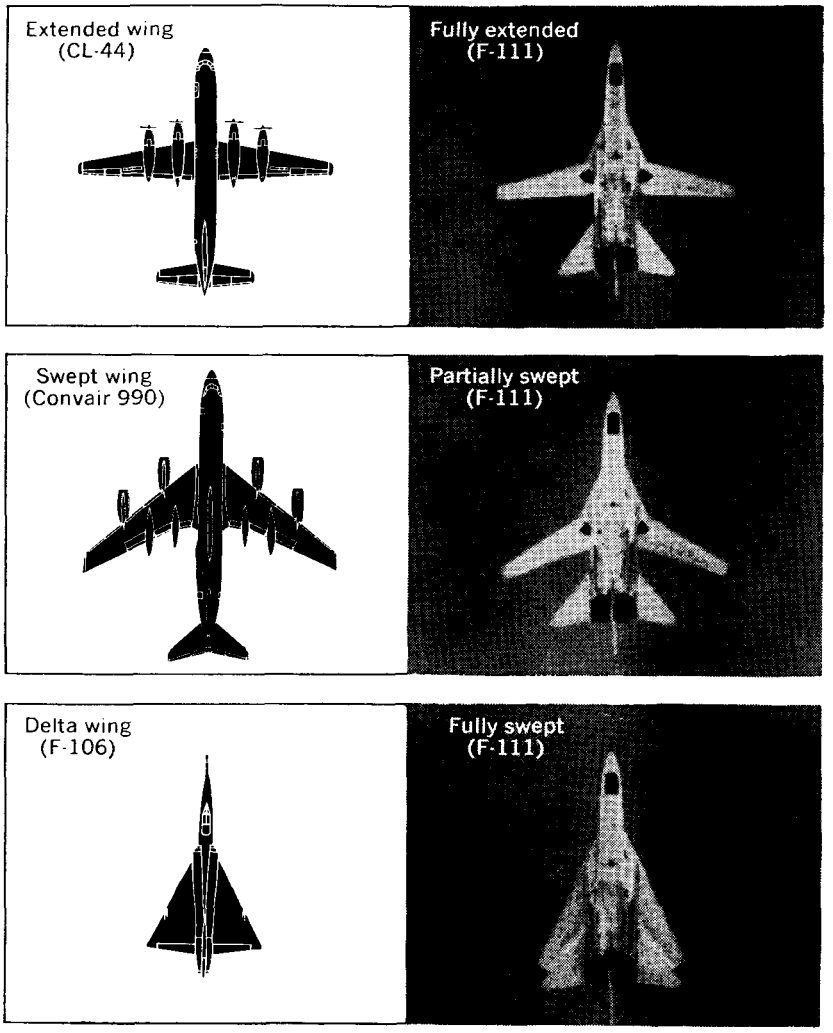
The movable portions of each wing are fastened to the yoke by 8½-inch diameter high-strength steel pivot pins. Forward of the yoke hydraulically powered actuators, responding to the pilot's control selection, move the wings from one position to another.

For additional high lift at takeoff and landing, full span slats and flaps are incorporated into the wing. The wing itself is ingeniously tapered so that much of its area when fully extended is highly cambered—that is, with a relatively thick curve for greater lift—and thin at the area remaining exposed when wings are swept back for high-speed flight.



How the wing works. A 14-foot steel yoke, with its 8½-inch diameter pins, on which the wings pivot, is the heart of the variable sweep winged F-111. The yoke and pins support the whole plane in flight. A jackscrew just forward of the yoke actuates the wings during sweep.

How wing configuration determines flight envelope



Left, top to bottom: Drawings of planes flying today. Extended wing of transport provides relatively short takeoff and landing with heavy loads. Swept wing of passenger liner provides less lift, but allows the plane to fly efficiently just below the speed of sound. Small delta wing of military fighter reduces air resistance (drag) and allows the plane to fly at supersonic speeds.

Right, top to bottom: Photos of the F-111 show how the variable sweep wing gives it the advantages of the extended wing, swept wing and delta wing—all in one plane.

The future for the sweep wing:

Since the Wright Brothers' first breakthrough in the art of manned flight, there have been relatively few major advances in the basic art of airplane building. One was the introduction of light aluminum structures, another the introduction of the turbine—better known as the jet—engine for propulsion.

The variable sweep wing represents a similar major step forward. For any category of aircraft—military, commercial or private—where the combination of very high-speed flight, long economic cruise and high lift for easy takeoff and landing is desired, the variable sweep wing sets the new standard. Even space ships may ultimately incorporate some form of variable geometric wing to make them more maneuverable within different atmospheres.

General Dynamics is a company of scientists, engineers and skilled workers whose interests cover every major field of technology, and who produce for defense and industry: aircraft; marine, space and missile systems; tactical support equipment; nuclear, electronic and communication systems; and machinery, minerals and gases.

GENERAL DYNAMICS

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tion. Fogarty, who has followed the Youth Corps snafus closely, threatened for a time to launch his own national investigation. Even though the preliminary report issued by the Corps on the irregularities in Rhode Island was sketchy and included no information about projects in other states, the Congressman now has said that he will probe the matter only during the budget hearings before his subcommittee.

An investigation could come from another source, however. Representative Adam Clayton Powell's House Labor and Education Committee has already begun looking into several aspects of the war on poverty and may include the Youth Corps in its rounds. And there is pressure from Republicans for the same thing. Republican leaders in Washington, casting about for campaign issues for next fall, have hinted that the war on poverty will be a prime target. The Rhode Island disclosures appear to be ready-made material.

Affluence No Obstacle

The first project investigated by the *Journal-Bulletin* was in Jamestown, a well-to-do community on Conanicut Island at the entrance to Narragansett Bay. There, seventy-five youths were enrolled in a summer project. Everybody who applied was accepted without regard to financial need. Richard Sheehan, director of the Jamestown project, was explicit about his feelings. "The word 'poverty' wasn't part of the consideration," he said. "Everyone knew it didn't exist in Jamestown. The boy from the middle-class family needs work experience, too. There was no attack on poverty in Jamestown."

Youth Corps officials, who later acknowledged that they had given the Jamestown application insufficient review before approving it, acted promptly when the *Journal-Bulletin* report on Jamestown was made public. About $15,000 of a $52,571 grant remained unspent when the story broke. When the newspaper's Washington bureau called Youth Corps headquarters for comment on the disclosures, officials there asked for a little time to consider the matter. They called back within minutes to announce they were canceling the project.

The reaction in Jamestown was to be typical of what occurred in several of the communities where irregularities were found. No one associated with the local project considered that he had done anything wrong. Sheehan and others, including the town council, expressed the opinion that the project had been a success and that it had been "operated as it should have been." They blamed Federal officials for failing to make explicit the poverty aspect of the Youth Corps program.

Indeed, the Corps was remarkably slow in establishing any specific income criteria on which to judge a youth's eligibility. But as early as December, 1964, Secretary Wirtz's

office had issued a set of rules governing selection of enrollees. No specific income levels were mentioned, but it was required that enrollees be from a "low income family."

It was not until more than six months later, on July 8, that the Labor Department issued a pamphlet that set firm income guidelines. The standards, which are still in effect, were quite restrictive, ranging from $1,540 for an individual to $2,440 for a family of three to $5,090 for a family of seven. However, between December and July, the period when most of the communities were drawing up their applications and then actually putting youths to work, Federal officials apparently did little to emphasize the poverty aspect of the Youth Corps. As one local project director observed, "They seemed much more anxious about getting rid of the money they had."

Some Rhode Island communities, such as West Warwick, were nevertheless aware of the Youth Corps purposes and established their own income criteria. Usually these were somewhat higher than the Labor Department's but not significantly so. In other communities income simply wasn't considered. Newport was a striking example.

NEWPORT is far from being a depressed area. Huge summer homes stand along the sea to the south and east. To the north is Newport Naval Base, headquarters of the Atlantic Destroyer Fleet. Unlike Jamestown, however, Newport does have pockets of poverty, and last summer it enrolled 370 persons in a Youth Corps project. Dennis F. Shea, a city councilman who later became mayor, directed it.

The *Journal-Bulletin* found at least sixty-six youths ineligible by the Federal income standards or by other established requirements. The family income of forty-one youths, as determined through Federal, state, or city records available to anyone, showed that they exceeded the Federal standards by anywhere from $1,000 to $9,000. Included was the child of a Navy captain whose annual salary and allowances amount to $14,340—more than $9,200 above the Federal guidelines.

In addition, the family income of twenty-five other youths appeared to be much too high for eligibility. These included the son of a prominent Newport surgeon, the son of a school administrator who is an officer of an insurance and real-estate firm, the son of the owner of a liquor store and several pieces of property, and so on.

Nor did Newport merely enroll ineligible youths, including eight who were in college. At least nine girls who were eligible by income standards were rejected on the grounds that they lacked a job skill. One girl comes from a family of three whose father is dead. The mother works part time, earning about $1,200 a year by taking in sewing and working as a cafeteria helper. The income is supplemented by Social Security.

Shea explained that there was a

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

general shortage of jobs for girls and that special qualifications such as an ability to type were needed in most cases. This ignores the fact that one of the basic purposes of the Corps is to help the unskilled.

Jobs for All

In Cranston, Johnston, North Providence, and Central Falls, the other communities that enrolled ineligible youths, apparently there was no rejection of anyone who was eligible. But those who were enrolled, in Cranston for instance, included children of a dentist, a doctor, a vice-president of a large bank, three high-ranking city officials, and three state civil-service employees who earn more than $9,500 a year.

Until the Federal officials began their direct investigations after the newspaper published its discoveries, they apparently had never seen any of the youngsters' individual applications, nor were they supposed to. Each Youth Corps project is operated without direct supervision by either state or Federal personnel. It is pre-eminently a local affair.

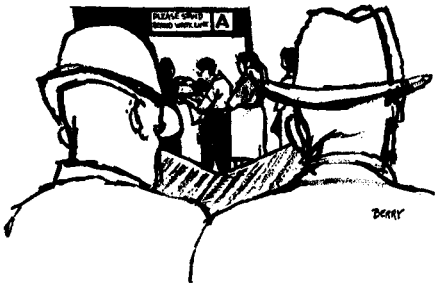
To the many youths who did not really need the money to stay in school, the Youth Corps simply offered an opportunity for a well-paying summer job. Eligible youths performed the same kind of jobs and got the same pay—the Federally set $1.25 an hour. In Newport, for instance, most of the youths worked for the city or the school department.

The others worked at hospitals, the Newport YMCA, the Boys Club of Society of Newport County. For the city agencies, the youngsters performed such tasks as painting fire-alarm boxes and fire hydrants, sweeping streets, picking up litter, filing and typing—in short, lending a hand wherever needed. At the private agencies, they were cooks' helpers, playground supervisors, clerks, cafeteria aides, school laboratory aides, library assistants, and general helpers.

On other projects across the state the youths did similar work, except that in Central Falls another category of private organization was added: Youth Corps enrollees were put to work cleaning and renovating church camps, church community centers, and parish houses. The Economic Opportunity Act specifically prohibits the use of Youth Corps labor on "construction, operation, or maintenance of . . . any facility used or to be used for sectarian instruction or as a place for religious worship."

THE preliminary Youth Corps report issued by Howard on the Rhode Island projects confirmed, in general, the findings of the *Journal-Bulletin* reporters. It did not, however, deal with the situation that was discovered in Warwick. There, two Youth Corps project directors, the city personnel director, and a school department co-ordinator continued to work at their city jobs while being paid for full-time work by the Youth Corps. They had even been given additional pay of about $50 a week at an incentive. Howard's report said only that city officials will not be employed on a new project in Warwick currently being negotiated. It also said that steps would be taken to "reach an equitable settlement of the questioned amounts spent on ineligible enrollees" in each community where they were found. Until such a settlement is reached, perhaps with the community reimbursing the Federal government, no more Youth Corps funds may go to that community.

Whether any of the money is recovered is a small matter compared with what the chain of events in Rhode Island precipitated elsewhere. After the first two reports had been published by the *Journal-Bulletin,* Howard sent a strongly worded memorandum to Youth Corps regional directors advising them that "eligibility requirements must be rigorously enforced." Carrying out Howard's orders, Dr. Cecil R. Forster, the Northeast regional director, dispatched letters to all local sponsors warning them to comply or face cancellation of their projects. The letter was a bombshell in New York City, whose project, with about four thousand youths, was one of the largest in the country. Project officials estimated that nearly half of the enrollees would have to be dropped because the income guidelines under which it had been operating were about twice as high as those of the Federal government.

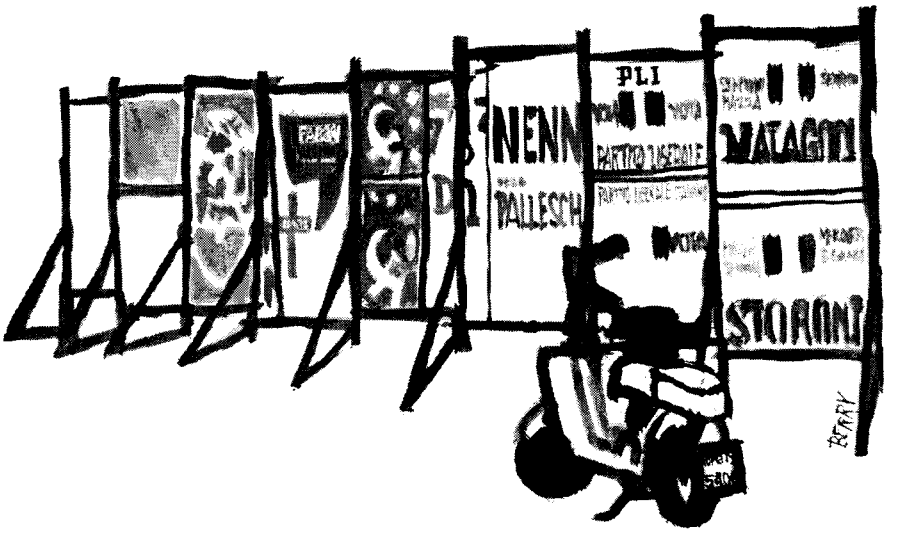


Every new applicant for Federal funds for a Youth Corps project is now being advised that income standards must be strictly observed. It is worth noting that the Federal officials did not feel a need to require such adherence in the beginning.

HOWARD readily acknowledges that Corps administrators have made mistakes. Though he will only say that launching so large a program so fast was "a challenge," it is no secret that all of the programs under the Office of Economic Opportunity began with inadequate staffs largely borrowed from other agencies. In partial answer to criticism of the Corps, he points to the thousands of youngsters who may have received a vital boost from the program—in spite of the fact that many ineligible youths took the places of those the program is trying to reach.

Critics of the program predicted in 1964 that starting the war on poverty on such a scale would result in just the kind of snafus that the Youth Corps experienced in Rhode Island. If Representative Fogarty is proved right in his estimate that an investigation would reveal abuses and mismanagement in seventy-five per cent of the projects in the country, those critics will have a field day. They may anyway.

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



The Mystic Mayor, And Fanfani Outfoxed

CLAIRE STERLING

ROME

SINCE 1963, when his fellow Christian Democrats turned him out as Premier, Amintore Fanfani has been steadily working his way back. The man who succeeded him, Aldo Moro, was considered by Fanfani as not suited to head the left-of-center coalition; it was his own invention, and there has been no doubt in his mind that he was the only one who could make it work. He refused to join Moro's first two cabinets and entered the third as Foreign Minister only under extreme pressure from the Vatican and his own party. The persistent weakness of this cabinet encouraged him in the belief that his comeback was predestined: as his followers tell it, the time was supposed to be last Christmas. When he flew from New York to Rome on December 23 after having gained international prestige as president of the United Nations General Assembly session, Fanfani was reasonably confident of bringing Moro's cabinet down in a few weeks and of forming his own. In fact, within hours of his arrival he as much as told Moro so.

No sooner had he settled into his country home for the holidays, however, than the reactionary weekly *Il Borghese*, which serves up nostalgia for the good old Fascist days occasionally spiced with sex, appeared on the newsstands with the purported text of a conversation between its managing editor, Gianna Preda, and Fanfani's closest and devoutly admired friend, Professor Giorgio La Pira, the former mayor of Florence. Though *Il Borghese's* readers are usually limited to a plushy, middle-aged clientele, its Christmas issue was sold out overnight.

Lay Thoughts of a Saintly Man

Professor La Pira, a mixture of spiritual exaltation, messianic political leftism, and comic eccentricity, who is known as the Holy Mayor, is always good for a story, and he was exceptionally newsworthy on this occasion. He was just back from Hanoi, via Warsaw, Moscow, and Peking. His trip was no news in Italy, for in an interview in the progressive weekly *L'Espresso* dated November 28, he had said that Ho Chi Minh had seen him off in person. *"Fan liao, fan liao,"* Ho had cried. He was as deeply moved as La Pira himself, who had replied: "The earth and the heavens are turned upside down. War is an unspeakable horror, but the men engaged in fighting become more and more closely bound to each other." According to *Il Borghese,* La Pira went much further. The United States must make peace in Vietnam, he said, because that was now the objective of American big business. "I have spoken with powerful American financiers, and I assure you that they want to end the war so they can trade with China. Rusk doesn't get this. Rusk doesn't know anything and doesn't understand much. . . . President Johnson has not quite made up his mind, but he will give in. He will make peace. . . . In fact, the aggressive spirit of America is diminishing, and things are now going in such a way that they cannot be stopped. If there is a truce for Christmas it will be easy then to start negotiations. There's nothing to do. Peace is coming. . . . The alliance between the Soviet Union and America is an absolute certainty." "Of course," he added, "when peace comes, it will win over China. I have been in Peking for twenty days before going to Hanoi, and, believe me, China has only eight million bicycles and a little bomb that means nothing. I saw lots of children in the streets. China is full of children, and is not what people say. Don't speak to me of the aggressive Chinese spirit: What do you think they can do with eight million bicycles?"

In the interview with *L'Espresso,* La Pira had already emphasized the bicycles: "I told those people in Peking: 'What are you threatening with your bicycles against the missiles and the atomic bombs?'" He also spoke of "those in the West who are working for peace in Vietnam and beyond Vietnam: the left wing of the British Labour Party, Bobby Kennedy, Mike Mansfield, the French, he himself; all are moving with parallel initiatives that are more coordinated than they seem to be."

As for Communism in general, La Pira went on, "You are wrong to be afraid of it, because the Communist danger no longer exists. *Macchè Comunismo!* The Marxist régimes are disintegrating, the Communists aren't doing anything and can't do anything. There are no atheists, there is no atheism."

Moving on to the Italian scene, La Pira gave his government and its leaders short shrift. What was

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

his opinion of Aldo Moro? "I don't like him. He's soft, he's soft." The Socialists? "They don't exist, they're old and useless. I don't like them at all." Pietro Nenni, the Socialists' leader and Vice-Premier? "He's extinct. Nenni is extinct." The government's chances of survival? "It can't last."

Of the late Mussolini, on the other hand, La Pira observed: "I have always had a sentiment of affection, I would say of prayer, for him. Were it not for his anti-Semitic laws, he would be leader of Europe today, a good leader. After he died, I kept dreaming of him for a very long time. He was suffering but serene. Grace had passed close to him in life, and it touched him, it touched him." Of the Italian Communist Party's hard-line Pietro Ingrao he said: "Ingrao, yes! He is vivacious, full of energy, vital." And of Fanfani he declared: "He is the Italian de Gaulle. He is the only one. He is a little like Joseph the Jew, who was persecuted, imprisoned, thrown into a well. But Joseph got out of it and became the Pharaohs' great minister. Fanfani too will get out of the well." Then came La Pira's final solution for Italy's political troubles: "Out with the Socialists! I see a one-party [Christian Democratic] government supported by everybody." By the Communists? his interlocutor asked. "Surely. Why not?" And by the Fascists as well? "Certainly."

The Unimpeachable Witness

To Fanfani's enemies, the interview looked too good to be true, and at first La Pira denied that he had ever given it or even met the lady from *Il Borghese*. But shortly after the interview Gianna Preda had used a tape recorder during a telephone conversation with La Pira in which he made it plain that he knew her and confirmed most of what he had told her earlier. Besides, there was an unimpeachable witness: Bianca Rosa Fanfani, who had arranged the meeting.

Why she did it is not clear. She claims to have been duped by Gianna Preda, who worked her way into the household in the guise of a backsliding Catholic seeking religious guidance. For any problem of that sort, either of the Fanfanis would have turned instinctively to La Pira, regarded by the whole family as a saint. All the same, the Holy Mayor had evidently talked about more than spiritual matters with Gianna Preda, who, it turned out, had also been received several times by Fanfani himself. The implication was that the Fanfanis and La Pira had been angling to get *Il Borghese's* Fascist support for just the kind of one-party government La Pira had mentioned, no doubt to be headed by Fanfani.

That wasn't the only implication: Everybody knew that Fanfani had been sharing his most private thoughts with La Pira for the better part of a decade. He would therefore have found it difficult to disassociate himself from the professor's views. Under the circumstances, it was all

but impossible. A month before the La Pira interview was published, Fanfani had in effect elevated him from the rank of personal friend to that of unofficial emissary engaged in a supremely delicate mission. La Pira had informed him that Ho Chi Minh was ready to talk "without first requiring actual withdrawal of American troops," and Fanfani had taken it upon himself, as president of the United Nations General Assembly, to pass the information on to President Johnson as worthy of urgent consideration. Fanfani may not have known that the information was worthless, but the interview in *Il Borghese* was proof, if any were needed, that he had made an incredible blunder in trusting the man who provided it. Forty-eight hours after the interview appeared, Fanfani offered his resignation as Foreign Minister; after a ceremonial refusal, Moro accepted it.

Not that the decision was easy. If Moro and Nenni had until then insisted almost desperately on Fanfani's presence in the cabinet, it was because they considered him incomparably more dangerous outside it. With about a fifth of the Christian Democratic Party under his control, he might very well have paralyzed the whole center-left operation if he chose to, especially if he succeeded in breaking up the precarious alliance between the party's other major factions: the conservatives, called "Dorotei," headed by Emilio Colombo, a man who has gained a statesman's stature in his term as president of the Councils of the European Communities, and the smaller group clustered around Premier Moro. By last month, Fanfani had evidently hit upon an excellent way of doing so.

THE FIRST CLUE to his intentions was offered in the November 28 issue of *L'Espresso*, incidentally the same one that carried the interview with La Pira fresh from Hanoi. The U.N. Assembly had just completed its debate on the admission of Communist China, and Italy had voted all the way with the United States. Though Fanfani had behaved impartially as chairman of the debate in the Assembly, he carefully pointed out to *L'Espresso's* correspondent that the Italian delegation had acted on instructions from Rome and taken a position directly contrary to his own. "On September 6, when I appeared before our Foreign Affairs Committee," he said, "I pointed out the difficulties that China's nonparticipation would create for any policy of consolidating peace. Since then, I have not changed my mind."

In the twenty typewritten pages of generalities dictated by Fanfani for the interview, he did not go much further. But a loyal follower who headed the Italian U.N. delegation, Senator Giacinto Bosco, was waiting in his antechamber for *L'Espresso's* reporter to fill in what was missing. Under Fanfani's inspiration and Bosco's direction, it developed, the Italian delegation had prepared a three-point plan prior to the debate on China and submitted it to the Italian government. Its terms were: (1) Italy should not sign the United States motion requiring a two-thirds

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

majority vote for China's admission; (2) it should refuse to vote for any motion "tending to perpetuate distinctly opposed divisions"; (3) it should press for the formation of an Assembly committee to ascertain whether or not, and on what conditions, China wanted to enter the United Nations and then submit recommendations for a negotiated solution to the Assembly.

Both the Socialists and the Social Democrats in the cabinet had promptly endorsed the plan, and even Moro was inclined to see merit in it—provided the United States was willing to go along. Advised in no uncertain terms that the Americans would not do so, Moro decided to reject it, and the Socialists reluctantly agreed. Their reluctance was the key to Fanfani's strategy. Upon taking leave of the U.N. at the close of its session, he had intended to go straight to the Italian Foreign Affairs Committee on January 5, argue his case on China for all it was worth, and, by threatening to resign if he did not get unequivocal support, compel the government parties to take sides decisively for or against him.

What he was banking on, first, was that the Socialists would be obligated to vote with him, partly because the Communists were breathing hotly down their necks but mostly because Nenni had vowed that he would not stay in the cabinet a minute longer than Fanfani did. In that event, Moro would be forced either to vote the same way or have the Socialists resign from the government along with Fanfani. Wholly committed to his alliance with the Socialists, Moro could not survive as Premier without them. On the other hand, he could not survive with them either if he should accept Fanfani's China policy, since under those conditions the firmly pro-American Dorotei would walk out on him.

The trap was neatly devised, but Fanfani had reckoned without Signora Bianca Rosa. In an effort to salvage the situation after her luckless intervention, he asked Moro to make the resignation effective on January 6, permitting him to address the parliamentary committee as Foreign Minister on schedule. Instead, Moro at once took over the Foreign Ministry himself, arranged to cancel the committee meeting, and set a full-dress policy debate in the Chamber of Deputies for later in January. When it came, the government's spokesmen might blandly thank the lately retired Foreign Minister for his exemplary services and agree that the problem of Communist China was indeed pressing. Whatever his reply, Fanfani would then be speaking as a mere deputy—under a cloud, at that—with hardly more leverage on the government than any other member.

The Italians Have a Word for It

No one imagines that the story ends there. Fanfani has always been at his best when backed into a corner, and he can be expected to make a formidable effort to get out of this one. Nevertheless, he is no longer in his old fighting trim. Nor are his followers. Impressed by the unexpected staying power of Moro's government, deprived for two years of ministerial jobs and patronage, wearied by repeated demands for unquestioning obedience, nagged by the suspicion—much strengthened now—that their leader has actually been contemplating a squalid Communist-Fascist alliance, the once compact band of "Fanfaniani" in the Christian Democratic Party has begun to disintegrate. As the man who was expected to become Premier from one moment to the next, Fanfani could still count on their allegiance; as a sadly discredited ex-cabinet minister, he cannot.

After bracing themselves for the shock of his departure, therefore, Moro and Nenni quickly realized that they might get along quite safely without him. If that is so, he may soon get a cordial invitation to return. If he does, however, it will be on conditions of good behavior, submission to party discipline, and acceptance of the role of a prematurely aged elder statesman.

It is so hard to see Fanfani as a detached elder statesman that many observers refuse to believe he will surrender. Rather than do so, he may choose to attack the government directly and indirectly with whatever strength he has, and bide his time. There is too much vigor left in him and he is known to be disinclined to follow a straight line to his goal. Frequently he has been entrapped in his own cleverness. The Italians have a word for it—*furberia*—a quality with which he is overendowed.

Canada Guards Its Water Against Our Big Thirst

DILLON O'LEARY

OTTAWA

LAST FALL, for the first time in a Canadian general election campaign, national water policy became an issue. John Diefenbaker, leader of the Progressive Conservative Party, accused Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson's Liberal government of planning to "pull the plug" of Canada's vast water resources and let them drain off to the United States, presumably leaving Canada's industry, agriculture, and people high and dry.

Pearson remained in power, but with a minority government of 131 seats in a 265-member Parliament. Though the water-export debate had little effect on the outcome, it is only beginning. It has been set off by the Canadians' awareness of the severe water pinch in the United States: the shortages in New York City, California, and the Southwest, and the problem of pollution and diminishing reserves elsewhere. Arthur Laing, Minister of Northern Affairs and until December director of Canadian water resources, has predicted that American bids to buy Canadian water "will probably be the greatest issue that will confront Canada during several decades."

Laing was hinting publicly what

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

some water-resource planners here say more bluntly in private: that no powerful nation parched for water can wait idly for a neighboring state with a huge water reservoir to decide whether or not it will sell that water. They think that if the United States cannot solve its clean-water scarcity by itself, then a crisis in Canadian-American relations might grow out of a Canadian refusal to replenish the U.S. supply.

Seven and a half per cent of Canada's land mass is covered by largely unsurveyed lakes and rivers. Laing has guessed that Canada owns a quarter to a third of the world's supply of fresh liquid surface water. More than fifty per cent of that water flows, largely untapped for any human use, into Hudson Bay or the north Pacific and Arctic Oceans. Canadians have already started studies of possible diversions of the northern flow by damming rivers and diverting part of their water southward. If these diversions are feasible, the great question confronting Canadian policymakers will be whether they should be shared with the United States.

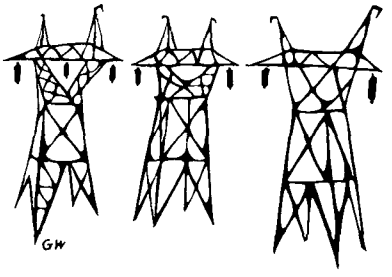
So far, Ottawa's official position has been against any commitment to share. Laing said as recently as December 10: "We should give no consideration to export of Canadian water until we have determined how much of it, if any, is surplus to our requirements now and in the immediate future." He has also stated that Canadian water "is not negotiable" until it has been surveyed and the nation's future needs provided for.

The NAWAPA Specter

Some Canadian resources experts doubt that the United States will ever need to import water. But when Canadian politicians hear U.S. Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall favoring a continental water approach, they consider it ominous. (Laing argues that there is no continental water in Canada, only Canadian water.) Politicians and civil servants have resented suggestions made by U.S. officials of various state water boards during international conferences on resources that Canada should sell its water to the United States. And recently apprehension was aroused by a continent-wide water-diversion plan proposed by the Ralph M. Parsons Company of Los Angeles and styled the North American Water and Power Alliance.

NAWAPA would cost up to $100 billion and take thirty years to complete. It would tap the continent's largest natural water reservoirs in the glacial mountains of Alaska, the Yukon, and northern British Columbia, reverse the crests of northern rivers, and divert about twenty per cent of this water supply south and east through a mighty complex of reservoirs, canals, locks, and pumping stations into Canada, the United States, and northern Mexico. The heart of this system would be a five-hundred-mile-long storage reservoir in British Columbia's Rocky Mountain trench.

Through this system of canals would pour annually 250 million acre-feet of water (an acre-foot is



the amount of water needed to put an acre under one foot of water). Its harnessed flow would generate 150,000 megawatts of electric power. The eastward canals would traverse Alberta, Saskatchewan, North Dakota, and Minnesota on their way to Lake Superior, carrying 110 million acre-feet of water. The southward canals would reach into the arid Southwest, California, and Mexico. In all, NAWAPA would supply thirty-three states. The NAWAPA planners claim that its sales of water and power would gross $4 billion annually, sufficient to pay operating costs and interest and debt retirement on the original investment.

Canada's water resources branch examined the NAWAPA blueprints last summer and decided that they lacked a foundation of definite information on engineering problems and costs. Canadian experts say, for instance, that there are closer and more economical sources of water for the Canadian prairies than a cross-Canada canal. They do not pretend to have found that a continental diversion from the far north to the southwestern United States is impossible, only that NAWAPA is not practicable. But if the Canadians are not impressed by NAWAPA's engineering and economic studies, they are concerned by its concept of a continental sharing of Canadian water.

THE U.S. State Department has never even hinted to the Canadian government that it might want to discuss NAWAPA. What has happened is that Senator Frank Moss (D., Utah), as chairman of a Senate subcommittee on Western Water Development, initiated a study of NAWAPA by his committee in 1964. Last September he introduced a resolution now pending before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that a more detailed study be undertaken by the International Joint Commission, a joint-membership body set up by Canada and the United States to regulate their common problems involving uses of their international waters. But a joint reference by the Canadian and American governments to the Commission is required before it can be empowered to study any such problem; and Canada has made it clear that it will not permit a Commission study that would recommend what should be done with purely Canadian, as distinct from international, waters.

Canada had already made its point more than a year ago when both nations were preparing a reference to the Commission requesting it to study regulation of the Great Lakes water levels. The State Department suggested a draft note empowering the Commission to study the possibilities of a partial diversion from rivers in northern Ontario and Quebec southward into the lakes; the idea was to regulate lake levels when they fall drastically, as they did in 1964, by an inflow of northern waters. Canada rebuffed the suggestion, and the United States dropped it. The final exchange of notes, in October, 1964, proposed only a study of engineering methods to regulate the water levels. To Canada, the suggestion was an invasion of its sovereignty: only Canadians could study Canadian water resources, and there

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

was to be no precedent allowing that right to any international body.

DESPITE Ottawa's tough talk against negotiating any export of water, its present stand is not necessarily the final word. To ascertain Canadian water policy is difficult because so far there is only the glimmer of one. There are two reasons for this situation:

¶ Canada has only begun to survey its water resources, and lacks the trained personnel to do it on anything but a piecemeal basis. (It is estimated that even a crash program would require twenty-five years.) With only the vaguest idea of the true extent of its water assets, Canada can hardly decide how those assets shall be used.

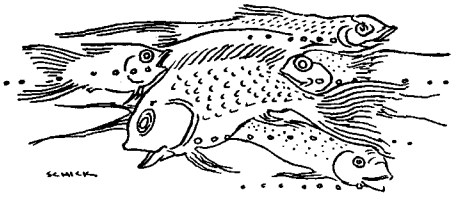
¶ Constitutionally, Canadian water resources, with the exception of international waters, are under provincial control. While in the United States the political power flow is toward Washington, in Canada it has been increasingly moving from Ottawa to the provincial governments. No truly national water policy will be realized until Ottawa can fashion one in consultation and agreement with all ten provinces.

Thus, even if Ottawa wanted to sell water to Washington as part of some form of continental water-diversion plan, the chances are that any agreement would be vetoed by provincial opposition. For instance, Premier W. A. C. Bennett of British Columbia was quick with his verdict when asked what he thought of NAWAPA: his province would not sell its water to the United States. "Even to talk of it is ridiculous," he said. Bennett has already shown his intransigence on the question of water resources. When Canada and the United States signed a Columbia River treaty for power development in January, 1961, he refused to agree to it; not until the two nations had rewritten the treaty on his terms was it finally ratified three and a half years later. It is reasonable to assume that any plan to siphon off the fabulous water reserves of northern British Columbia for parched California and the Southwest would be vetoed by Bennett, and quite likely by any successor to his job.

And yet there are faint signs in Ottawa of a thaw in water-export policy. During the campaign, Pearson talked of exporting water as a commodity like wheat or oil, though he hedged by adding that this would be considered only after Canada's own requirements were secured. His post-election cabinet and administrative reorganization hinted that there might be a subtle change in the official line. The administration of water was taken out of Laing's Department of Northern Affairs and entrusted to a new Department of Resources and Energy headed by a reputedly bright political novice, Jean-Luc Pépin. In appointing Pépin, Pearson emphasized the need for a national water policy.

Pépin displays none of Laing's unyielding approach. In a recent interview he talked of his position on the water-export controversy: "We are going to develop our resources to use them in the national interest, and if in using them in our own interest we find they can also be used in the American interest as well, we shall do that." Moreover, he does not believe that Canada should reject all American approaches until every last gallon of Canadian water is measured and allocated to some future Canadian use.

Canadian policy on exporting resources has changed before, notably in the case of electric power. Though Ottawa restricted power exports until recently, it is now reconciled to licensing exports of new surplus power under contracts for a reasonably long period; they do, however, contain a recapture clause. But in government thinking there is a significant difference between exporting power and water. The export of power can be terminated if it is needed for future Canadian use. But once diverted over the border, water is irrevocably committed for export. The difference explains the opposition within the Department of External Affairs to continental diversion schemes. But its private view is that any diversion on a continental scale would, in a wholesale bartering of Canada's most valuable resource, compromise Canadian sovereignty. The fear, perhaps exaggerated, is that the commitment of Canadian water would leave Ottawa that much more susceptible to the already considerable economic and political influence of the United States.



Vision for the North

Another consideration shapes the attitudes of many Canadian politicians and resources planners. It is an aspect of the Canadian vision, the hope of some day filling the nation's vast and empty lands to the north with industry and people. If parts of the United States are running short of water to supply their expanding population and industry, Ottawa reasons, why help them out with Canadian water? Instead, why not bring the surplus people and industry to the northern waters, the last great source of unlimited clean water in the western world? This concept is developing quietly among the politicians and bureaucrats who talk and plan water. It has yet to be manifested as declared policy or to appear as a plank in any political platform, though Laing had it in mind when he said recently that "water is the key resource in Canada's development." The fact that the north is rich in oil and minerals only deepens the conviction that bringing people to the water is the solution for Canada's population and development problems.

It is conceivable, though by no means certain, that Canadian policy will thaw to the extent that Ottawa would negotiate small regional diversions of water over the border, if the price is right and the province owning the water is agreeable. But it is hardly conceivable that a Canadian government of any party in the foreseeable future would even negotiate, much less sign, a treaty for any massive diversion or continental water plan—even if the provincial governments did not exercise their veto. If refusal to consider a continental water plan were to result in tense relations with the United States, that is a risk a Canadian government would have to take. The alternative would be political suicide.

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A Mississippi Mayor Fights the Klan

ARLIE SCHARDT

When the new mayor of Laurel, Mississippi, launched an attack against the Ku Klux Klan last fall, optimists called it the dawn of a new day for the entire state and cynics called it an opportunistic gesture. Although neither group has been proved correct, there are signs that progress of a sort is being made in Mississippi.

Mayor William Henry Bucklew, a forty-year-old Mississippian, is not exactly the kind of man one expects to find leading drives against the KKK. He was a director of George Wallace's 1964 Presidential campaign in Maryland, North Carolina, and Virginia; he is a member of the speakers' bureau of the Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission, an arm of the state government created to perpetuate segregation. (Its funds have since been cut off by Governor Paul Johnson.) Bucklew ran unsuccessfully for lieutenant governor in 1959 with a campaign that, one Negro leader said, "gave us a real hot time." Bucklew, a fundamentalist Baptist, is also the founder of a Boys Town that provides a home and education for 263 boys, and is a civic doer with a long list of accomplishments.

Laurel is also the home of Sam Bower, a vending-machine dealer who is Grand Dragon of the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, a Mississippi-based group that has a reputation as the most covert and vicious of all the Klans. Police estimate that the White Knights in Laurel have from fifty to a hundred active members backed by many sympathizers. When Bucklew became mayor last July, the city's most pressing problem was a series of unsolved terrorist bombings and shootings. The violence was part of a KKK design, begun in May, 1964, with the bombing of the Laurel *Leader-Call*, to establish an unofficial control of the city of 28,000. Though the *Leader-Call's* editor-publisher, J. W. West, was himself a segregationist, the Klan had decided that "the press" must be silenced. In the thirty-four bombings and shootings that followed, including some in which the Klan apparently hit the wrong victims, Negroes and whites alike were terrorized. As the violence increased with the terrorists still unapprehended, fear captured Laurel. "We had a very defeated attitude," says Bucklew. "Most folks were ashamed. Laurel was drying up. People knew it was happening but they wouldn't say why." The townsmen were afraid to serve on juries, enabling the Klan to assure its terrorists immunity from punishment.

Bucklew's Decision

The more powerful the Klan grew, the more members it attracted. "We're gettin' some big shots in our organization now," a Klansman boasted to the new mayor last summer. When three major firms canceled plans to come to Laurel because of the wave of unchecked violence, Bucklew recognized that continued violence would kill the town economically. He decided that the only way to stop the Klan was to marshal public opinion against it and to expose the night riders.

Mayor Bucklew is short and a bit overweight, and his conversation is laced with fundamentalist homilies; from the breast pocket of his black suit protrude the tips of a three-pronged handkerchief—red, white, and blue. He does not have the appearance of a crusader. But when there are no voters within earshot, he reveals himself as a shrewd man capable of transforming ideas into deeds. Moreover, his decision to fight the Klan took courage.

Bucklew began by assembling every leading law-enforcement official of Laurel and Jones County—the police chief, sheriff, and prosecuting attorneys—and asking them to sign a statement condemning the actions of the Klan. On Friday, October 15, the statement appeared under a massive banner headline on the front page of the *Leader-Call*, accompanied by a photograph of the signing at Bucklew's desk. It listed all thirty-five acts of terrorism, complete with the names of victims, dates, and places. It described the Klan structure and the Klan's effort to interfere with the jury-selection system.

On the same page appeared another statement written by James A. Wheeler, a Laurel civic leader and insurance executive, which described the difficulty in attracting new industry: "It is . . . extremely difficult, if not impossible, to explain the recent bombings, shootings and burnings. . . ." Noting that Mississippi had asked the nation to let the state handle its own problems, Wheeler said this was as it should be, provided the state met its responsibilities, among them the maintenance of law and order. He pointedly reminded those who might be inclined to tolerate the bombings that such acts ". . . serve as an open invitation to all types and sorts of people to descend on us."

Twenty-Three Vital Minutes

Three days later, on October 18, Bucklew delivered a twenty-three-minute talk on WDAM-TV that was broadcast throughout most of southeastern Mississippi: "I must honestly confess I have waited many months in hopes that someone else might sound the alarm," he began. He then delivered an aside that politicians apparently still find *de rigueur* in the rural South: a eulogy of Mississippi and Dixie, followed by the inevitable blast at "biased newsmen" who somehow have caused all the trouble. He went on to say that his greatest fear was of "the flood of scum, degenerates, free-lovers, night riders, church burners, home bombers and hooded thugs running loose," a phrasing that neatly eased the Klan

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

into the same category as the despised civil-rights workers.

"You ninety-nine out of one hundred who do not believe in bombings, shooting into homes, calling and threatening life and property, you who do not believe in writing smear letters without signing your name, I now will speak for you who prefer to remain silent. This is my state and your state. I'm ashamed, aren't you? No, we did not take part. We shudder, we blush, we deny when possible. We even excuse or try to justify these acts. But they continue and, in some areas, increase. We no longer laugh because some of our citizens want to be judge, jury, and executioner as they try, in secret places in the dark of night, to decide which laws they will obey and which laws they will break. You, or your family, or mine might well be their next target.

"Many of these fanatics talk so much about God," he added, displaying a charred cross and a Molotov cocktail. "Can you imagine a loving, merciful, forgiving God blessing the act of any creep who would burn a home or a house of worship? Those who create such acts of violence are not only Godless, they are traitors. These mob fiends who are infecting our city and state are actually demanding that the Federal government move in and take over every phase of our existence." He concluded by pledging $1,000 of his own money as a reward for information leading to arrest and conviction of the terrorists, and urged everyone to tell his friends to get out of the Klan.

THE Laurel police would not let Bucklew drive home that night without an escort, and they have guarded his house every night since. But Governor Johnson sent him a warm letter of praise, and most Laurel residents responded favorably. "This town was afraid and apathetic before," said a white businessman. "Everybody knew what should be done but was afraid to start it off." A minister apologized for having been afraid to speak out from his pulpit and promised to do so the next Sunday. The Jones County Baptist Association, numbering forty-six churches, passed a resolution of support.

But, as Bucklew was fully aware, brave speeches have a way of being forgotten. He decided to have petitions circulated throughout the county; people were asked to sign a statement of principles opposing violence, pledging to serve on juries when called, and endorsing the right of every citizen to security from molestation, "regardless of race, color or creed." Signers' names were to be published in the *Leader-Call*. Bucklew hoped there would be so many signatures that nonsigners would be conspicuous by their absence and eventually go along.

It did not quite work out that way. Almost immediately the White Citizens Council protested Bucklew's action with the sort of logic that is clear only to other Citizens Council minds: Bucklew, they said, had made Laurel look like "a lawless jungle" with his TV address. (No mention was made of the fact that thirty-five news dispatches from Laurel reporting bombings and shootings had already effectively portrayed the town.) Klan officials demanded and got equal TV time, using it to deny the Klan's advocacy of violence. And many residents received phone calls warning them not to sign the petition, saying signers would be "singled out" and reprisals would follow. Klan pressure eased considerably after churches began turning in lists of signers, and banking and business leaders, including official representatives of Masonite, Laurel's primary industry, expressed full support for Bucklew. Finally a full page of names—about five hundred—was published. But enough minor harassment to signers resulted to cause Bucklew to withhold further names, although he has at least five hundred more in hand.

If his follow-up drive to cripple the Klan has not been an overwhelming success, at least the primary purpose of Bucklew's strategy has been. Since his speech, there have been no more bombings in Laurel. But though the bombings have stopped, no one has been punished for the crimes already committed. And though Laurel's Negroes may be in less danger of being shot, their lives have not changed in other respects. White-collar jobs are still closed to them, their schools are still segregated and substandard, and most of them are still afraid to join the civil-rights movement.

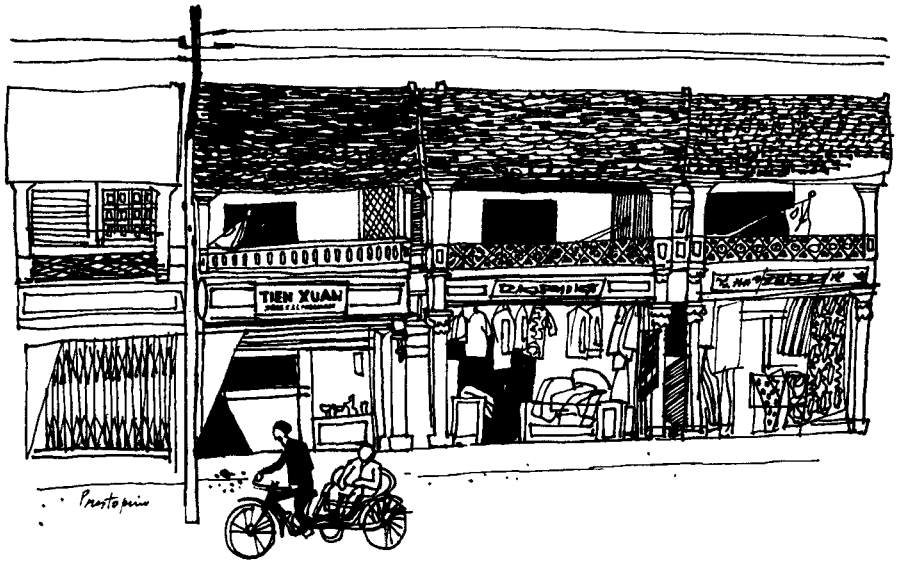
The small local chapter of NAACP is headed by Dr. B. E. Murph, a forty-seven-year-old dentist whose own house has been shot into twice. It has led a registration drive that has raised the total of Negro voters from six hundred to nearly three thousand. But with only about a dozen active helpers, Murph has not had time deal with the pressing problem of segregated schools. These schools, taught by teachers who are themselves products of the same system, are ill equipped to prepare Negroes for better jobs, even if opportunities were offered them. As a result, the brightest young Negroes leave town as soon as they can, partly to get better jobs than Laurel offers, and partly because, in Murph's words, "they don't appreciate the violence. They go to safer places."

'We Don't Have to Like It'

Today, however, there is hope that Laurel itself may become one of those safer places. The white leaders of the community appear to have survived a near-disaster, and possibly they have learned a lesson. Recently a group of them gathered in Mayor Bucklew's office to study a copy someone had obtained of the forty-page constitution of the White Knights of the KKK, plus a written plan of harassment. More than a few found new significance in the familiar words of Barry M. Goldwater printed on the back cover: "Extremism in the cause of liberty is not a vice. Moderation in the pursuit of justice is no virtue."

As for Mayor Bucklew, he continues to steer Laurel in a new direction. His private feelings may be correctly analyzed by the Mississippi Negro leader who said: "A few years ago he was with George Wallace. A man his age doesn't change this much. I can see political aspirations lingering there." But it is a hopeful sign that Bucklew is honest about his own limitations: "I am a segregationist but I'm not a criminal. For that reason I'm going to accept the law. We can't do anything but lose, fighting the Federal government with the authority it has. So the truth is, we must adjust to the things that are inevitable. We don't have to like it. We just have to do it."

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



The Anti-Communist Crusade Of Indonesia's Moslems

DONALD KIRK

DJAKARTA

FOR SIX WEEKS after the abortive Communist coup here on the night of September 30, General Abdul Haris Nasution, Indonesia's Defense Minister, whose daughter had been killed by bullets intended for him, secluded himself behind a wall of grief and silence. He boycotted a meeting of the cabinet in Bogor, thirty miles away, saying that he was still recovering from a broken ankle suffered in his escape from Communist assassins. He would not appear publicly with President Sukarno, and on the rare occasions when he visited the palace he insisted that the President's guard, which had been implicated in the coup, leave the immediate area. On those visits he was accompanied by a platoon of blue-bereted military policemen, who also maintained what has become a regular vigil outside his home.

Then, in November, the general came out fighting. Usually mild-mannered, even shy, he began to speak in anything but gentle terms. On November 10, Indonesian Heroes' Day, he made a broadcast attacking Indonesia's Communist Party (PKI) for spreading rumors of a "military junta" planning to take over the country. "Those who slander the army generals must be punished," he said. On November 23, at a military ceremony in western Java, he continued his attack: "Those responsible for the coup have not been totally destroyed. They are consolidating for a counteroffensive." And a week later: "The revolt was the explosion of the political concept of the PKI." Moreover, he went on, the coup was "directly or indirectly assisted by a foreign country."

Ecumenical Jihad

The increasing boldness and frequency of Nasution's statements have surprised both government officials and diplomats, who half expected the armed forces to relax their campaign against the Communists after killing and capturing thousands of them in the first few weeks after the coup. The general's stand is all the more surprising in view of President Sukarno's explicit fears that "right-wing elements" may try to turn Indonesia away from "the path of our great leftist revolution." It is no secret that Sukarno regards Nasution as a potential "right-wing element" and is fearful of the army's power, especially since there is no longer a Communist Party for him to play off against it.

In fact, the decline of the Communist Party is the key to Nasution's success. Sukarno has so far been powerless to counteract the overwhelming revulsion against Communism that swept Indonesia after the coup. There is what amounts to a nationwide religious conflict between the forces of Islam and other beliefs on the one side and those of both Communism and the ritual socialism and anti-imperialism that Sukarno has promoted in the past few years.

With ninety per cent of Indonesia's 105 million people professing some degree of faith in Islam, the country had long been caught in the contradiction between organized religion and Communism. Now the other diversified religious groups, which also include several million Catholics and "Christians" (Protestants), have found their best excuse in the nation's twenty-year history for crusading against an ideology that threatened first their prestige and ultimately their existence. "The armed forces provide the guns while we develop the popular support," was how one of the intense young agents of the Combined Action Body for Crushing the September 30 Movement described the working relationship between his organization and the Defense Ministry.

Combined Action represents Indonesia's most concerted attempt to unite the nation's anti-Communist elements in a common cause. Formed on October 2, the day after the coup, the organization includes the powerful Nahdatul Ulama (NU), or Moslem Scholars' Party, and two lesser Moslem parties, Partai Sarekat Islam Indonesia and Perti, as well as the Partai Katolik and Parkindo (the Christian Party) and the League of Upholders of Indonesian Independence, essentially a military party whose founders included General Nasution. The list of Combined Action supporters numbers some forty "mass organizations" ranging from a teachers' union to the influential Muhammadijah, a Moslem-community organization.

Z. E. Soebchan, chairman of Combined Action and a vice-chairman of NU, claims that Combined Action represents eighty per cent of the political strength of Indo-

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

nesia. Outside the organization, in addition to the Communists, are the Indonesian National Party (PNI) and Partindo, a PKI-dominated front. PNI, Indonesia's largest party before the coup, now suffers from a serious split between those who advocate that PKI be banned and those who want to wait until Sukarno announces his own decision.

Combined Action collaborates daily with military officers. Its agents exchange information on PKI activities, recommend PKI supporters for arrest, distribute propaganda, and accompany army and marine units in strongly PKI areas, mainly those in central Java. At the same time, they count on already existing anti-PKI sentiment among religious peasants, students, workers, and others to respond to their prodding.

RELIGIOUS BELIEF ranks first among the reasons given by Soebchan for opposing the Communists. "Atheism is what we're fighting," he has stated. The popularity of his views was proved at a mass rally in Banteng Square, Djakarta, on November 9. A crowd of three hundred thousand, all members of organizations affiliated with Combined Action, shouted an affirmative answer to his question, "Is religion still an absolute requisite in nation building?" Soebchan, who fought as a guerrilla against the Dutch while still in his teens, was cheered wildly for claiming that President Sukarno has not "taught us Communist doctrines." Instead, he explained, "what he taught was Marxism." He demanded that Sukarno outlaw the PKI and has repeated the demand almost daily since then.

Although Soebchan denies it, Combined Action workers privately admit that some of their members helped organize mass rallies in Medan and Makassar in which rioters attacked the Chinese consulates and the homes of local Chinese residents. The demonstrators, most of them Moslems, charged that the Chinese government had supplied the PKI with funds through Baperki, an organization whose members are mainly of Chinese descent.

Combined Action has also wielded its strength in the past few weeks by sending thousands of young men to all major points of conflict. A number have died fighting PKI supporters in central Java and Sumatra. It has played a major role in the army's purge of government agencies and, as Soebchan put it, in "retooling all public organizations which directly or indirectly have been aligned with the Communist Party." It has organized rallies and anti-Communist student organizations and has attempted to break up Com-

munist cells, mainly by reporting their existence to the army. It has also distributed thousands of leaflets exposing the PKI.

One, entitled "Communist Teachings," says that the use of force and brutality is inherent in Communism and charges that the PKI does not believe in Pantjasila, the five principles of Indonesian nationhood enunciated by President Sukarno in 1945. The principles begin with belief in God and include belief in social justice, the people's sovereignty, humanity, and national consciousness. "The Communists do not believe in God," says the pamphlet. "Therefore the PKI has no right to exist in a country of which Pantjasila is the state ideology."

The legal basis in Indonesia for "belief in God" has provided both the armed forces and Combined Action with one of their best pretexts —aside from the coup itself—for campaigning against the PKI. Simply by pointing out that Communist theoreticians disavow God, anti-Communists here can open up the party to charges of violating the principles of both Pantjasila and Nasakom. The latter, a contraction of the words for nationalism, religion, and Communism, stands for President Sukarno's attempt to blend the three divergent influences in Indonesian life.

Rumblings Before the Coup

Until the coup, however, anti-Communists claim that they were powerless to combat what one of them described as "the psychological dictatorship of the PKI." A Moslem leader said President Sukarno's policy of favoring the PKI at home and Communist China abroad put the opposition in the impossible position of "betraying Indonesia's 'great revolution' every time we opened our mouths against the Communists." The PKI was always "the first to use the slogans of the President," including Pantjasila and Nasakom, while actually "working against them."

One of the PKI's most powerful assets was that the largest Moslem party, Masjumi, along with its labor union and the Socialist Party (PSI), had been outlawed in 1960. Masjumi, representing the better-educated "modern" Moslem elements, had opposed President Sukarno's increasingly dictatorial behavior. Although the party itself did not support the "Colonels' Revolt" of the late 1950's, many of its members did. Masjumi and PSI had been the strongest organized opposition PKI had had to face, and with both out of the way the Communists were left free to organize and proselytize among workers, students, and peasants.

Despite all this, however, the Communists had encountered unexpected —and largely unpublicized—Moslem resistance, particularly in central Java, long before the coup. There

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

GUTS

They're priceless. Without them a magazine (like a man) is just a shell.

THE REPORTER digs for facts, culls yards of reports, sorts out the trivial, clarifies, places in perspective, then prints the *real* story, and *damn the repercussions* . . . full speed ahead!

Intellectual honesty and courage are rare commodities. And as this issue of THE REPORTER proves, they provide solid, informative, colorful reading.

"Your magazine has offered many provocative articles on subjects people should be provoked about, and by including meaningful background in its discussion of timely subjects has given readers a broad view of current events."—

SENATOR CLIFFORD P. CASE (R.)

"Yours is a great magazine. I find it invaluable because the articles are timely, yet invariably based on careful analysis and research. No other magazine achieves this feat as consistently as does yours."—

SENATOR STUART SYMINGTON (D.)

1¢ a Day

That's all it costs a trial subscriber to read THE REPORTER regularly. Actually, the price is *less than* a penny a day; *just $3.50* for a full year (24 issues). The postpaid card opposite (sent *without* money, if you like) will bring you the writings of Max Ascoli, George Bailey, Meg Greenfield, Henry A. Kissinger, Edmond Taylor, Denis Warner, Claire Sterling. . . .

If you are presently a REPORTER subscriber, use the card to introduce a well-intentioned friend to this worthwhile, fortnightly reading experience.

A Note to Comparison Shoppers

Regular rates for THE REPORTER are—1 year $7, 2 years $11, 3 years $14. (Add $1 per year for foreign postage, 50¢ annually for Canada and Pan American Union.)

THE REPORTER/660 MADISON AVENUE/NEW YORK, N.Y. 10021

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

were reports that Communist supporters had burned a mosque, that fifty Moslems had been poisoned at a holiday feast, that village religious leaders had been captured and, in some cases, tortured and killed. The Moslems fought back by burning PKI villages, refusing to do business with PKI members, and in turn capturing and killing PKI leaders. Moslems were notably successful in east Java too, and since the coup they have all but annihilated the PKI there.

While Combined Action, including the Catholics and Christians, counts on the Moslems for nationwide popularity, it disassociates itself from any connection with Darul Islam, the Islamic nationalist movement that fought the government for sixteen years until the last of its principal leaders was finally killed in Celebes in 1965. In fact, anti-Communist religious elements have seized on "complete support" of President Sukarno and of "our great leftist revolution" as one of their rallying cries. Whatever they do against the Communists, they insist they are doing it to enable the revolution to continue without "the subversive influence of the PKI.'

IN PURSUING a leftist revolution, however, anti-Communist leaders take views that substantially differ from Sukarno's. Although they do not express them publicly, they frankly admit them in private and in some of the anonymous pamphlets they have distributed around the country. One pamphlet, for instance, stated that Indonesia "need not be afraid" to "work together with the enemies of the revolution . . . without changing our own color." The implication, by its author's own admission, was that Indonesia should negotiate its quarrel with Malaysia, which Indonesian leaders still appear determined to "crush" in their policy of confrontation against what they regard as a Necolim—neo-colonial, colonialist, and imperialist—plot to overrun their country.

The anti-Communists are less definite about their views on socialism. While fighting for the "great revolution," some of them oppose the government's decision to take over foreign private interests. They say it would be foolish to demand the oil-refining plants of large western companies, especially since such a move would further damage relations with the United States at a critical time. As for socialism in the long run, Soebchan hopes that the government will recognize a system of private capital "working for socialist good instead of capitalist self-interest." Within that framework, it might still be possible to keep the "kom" in Nasakom—but without a "Communist Party" as such.

But the question arises of how long Indonesia's varied political parties, mainly the religious ones, will maintain their unity once they feel the danger of Communism no

longer exists—and how long President Sukarno will permit Combined Action to follow its present course. In virtually all his speeches since October, Sukarno has warned that he would just as soon outlaw those parties "inflaming popular passions" as the PKI itself. In fact, now that the immediate danger of a Communist take-over has been removed, the President seems to regard the anti-Communist reaction as more dangerous than the revolt itself. And he has made clear his annoyance with those who "irritate me by trying to tell me what to do."

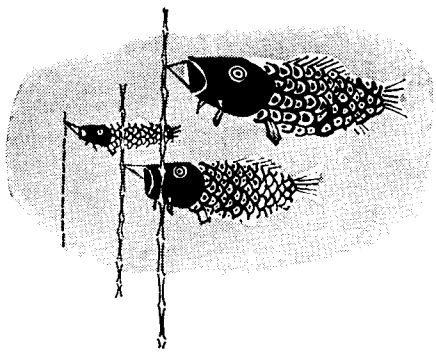
So far, Sukarno's words have been ineffective among military leaders loyal to General Nasution. On the same day that the President made a speech in the palace demanding "to be left alone to make my own decisions," the Djakarta war administrator banned the PKI in Djakarta and its suburbs. The army also has banned the PKI in the Moluccas, western Java, western and central Kalimantan (Borneo), and southern Sulawesi (Celebes). Military units are continuing their campaign against the last remnants of organized Communism in south central Java. And they now have the authority, granted by the President under pressure, to hold military tribunals against those they believe were responsible for the coup.

WITH the armed forces under Nasution holding unprecedented power, Combined Action has been free to carry out its popular campaign in support of the military's efforts. Combined Action agents organized rallies and demonstrations in every area in which military leaders subsequently banned the PKI or suspended Partindo. When Nasution warned of the danger that PKI might reorganize itself, Combined Action issued a statement calling for "unity against attempts at creating a rift among political parties."

The statement charged that PKI had attempted "to found a new-style Communist Party" and also had tried to divide the anti-Communist parties and the armed forces. "We strongly reject every attempt to alienate the political parties and mass organizations from the armed forces," said the statement, signed by the top leaders of all six parties in Combined Action. "We have instructed all members and sympathizers to enhance their alertness against such attempts and preserve unity and integrity in order to safeguard the Indonesian Revolution from treacherous counterrevolution and the threats of the Necolim."

The statement, skillfully employing the jargon of "the Indonesian Revolution" and indicating the proper distance for imperialism, was the strongest public indication so far of the parties' determination to keep up the fight. Conceivably the struggle could last for years—time enough, possibly, not only to crush the PKI but also to bring about a radical change in the political climate of Indonesia.

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Japan Joins
The Hipster International

HERBERT PASSIN

In Tokyo during November, 1963, a twenty-four-year-old student of Russian literature, seedy and unkempt, was picked up for shoplifting. Taken to the police station, he demanded, "What's wrong with shoplifting?" The police, wise in the ways of students and perhaps even a little sympathetic, took this in stride. But when they opened his soiled silk-wrapped parcel and came upon ten pornographic volumes, they took a more serious view. The student promptly revealed that he and two friends were the authors of *The Red Steamship, or The Night of the She-Wolf,* a sumptuous job of 128 pages with thirty-two illustrations selling for a thousand yen ($1.60). Its production fell under a more serious charge than shoplifting—violation of the pornography laws. The student neither denied his responsibility nor showed any sign of guilt. Disdaining the usual defense that this was art, not pornography, he raised a more fundamental challenge: "We simply cannot comprehend this idea that pornography is bad." He was, it turned out, a member of the League of Criminals, which had staged a concerted series of "uprisings" the previous month.

"Our movement," the League's alleged leader later explained, "combines sex and politics. To liberate ourselves sexually, we must have a political revolution. Political activity means nothing unless it brings about sexual freedom. Ours is a sexual politics. Our aim? A sexual-political revolution."

Interviewed by magazine reporters, two League members elaborated their position:

Reporter: "Are you Communists?"

Member A: "Yes."

Reporter: "How so?"

Member A: "First, the ultimate remaining capital is consciousness. Therefore we must get rid of consciousness and create a world of non-consciousness. Second, we must carry out black-magical experiments based on homosexualism. Third, the most decisive thing is to be relaxed and indifferent. Fourth, we must be ultra, we must go to any lengths to satisfy our desires."

Reporter: "What is the proper course for your kind of Communist?"

Member A: "Play and eat."

Member B: "Make the capitalists support us."

Reporter: "What complaints do you have right now?"

Both members: "Communist society is a society intoxicated by drugs. It is a society of harmony. For our part, we are preparing for the post-Communist Revolution, a revolution to create a disharmonious society. Therefore we are ready to go to any lengths."

"Would you like to meet a League member?" a young sociologist friend asked me. The next day, a Sunday, we took a taxi to one of the new suburban developments on the northwestern outskirts of Tokyo. As we walked into a narrow alleyway lined with new jerry-built two-story houses, my guide said, "Just the right place for a criminal."

There was nothing criminal or sinister that I could see. Except for its rawness, it looked no different from the usual run-down lower-middle-class quarters one can see in Ueno or any of the other older districts of Tokyo. An ankylotic old woman was drawing water from a pump; a little girl ran screaming out of one row of houses and as abruptly disappeared into the other; a tired housewife dragged out bright red bedding to air; and a messenger boy forced us off the path with his bicycle. My guide led the way up a massive outer staircase of freshly laid though already mangy concrete. It led abruptly into the second floor of a rickety wooden building that shuddered as we set foot inside.

A trim and pretty housewife looked up from her portable ironing board. In a single fluid motion she set aside her iron, brushed back a stray wisp of hair, briefly checked the two-year-old behind her, patted her neat dress straight, and bowed us in. We removed our shoes and exchanged the usual phrases, all in the most proper fashion. At her almost invisible beckoning we pushed past the huge enameled refrigerator and the gas stove that blocked the tiny entryway three paces inside the door, and turned left through the sliding paper doors into the study.

"Come in, come in!" Hayashi (as I shall call him) shouted baronially. One half expected him to lift a tankard of ale to greet the travelers from afar. Hayashi, who had been described to me as the head of the League of Criminals, was squatting over his low desk set on the *tatami* floor, unshaven, uncombed, bright-eyed—the very caricature of the radical Japanese student. (He is, in fact, thirty years old, a tireless editor and writer for a serious academic magazine, who has to work hard to make a living.) "I'm not really the head of the League," he said. "I'm just a kind of protector. You might call me the chairman of the PTA." He laughed. (Since the American occu-

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

pation, the PTA is as common in Japan as in the United States).

The room was tiny and overheated by two oil stoves. About five feet wide and nine feet long, the minuscule area was further encroached upon by bookcases reaching the ceiling and books and papers scattered over the matted floor in lordly disorder. I scanned the bookcase on my left and noticed such titles as *Art and Revolution, New Key to Japanese History* (in three volumes), *The Literature of the Imperial Court Period, A History of Anarchism in Japan, The Popular Arts.* Among foreign authors, I spotted Kropotkin, the Marquis de Sade (*120 Days of Sodom*), Jean Genêt (*The Thief's Journal*), and Trotsky, all in translation.

"We're not really an organization, you know," Hayashi told us, "with members and all that kind of thing. People accuse us of being anarchists, and I suppose we are, rather. So you can call us a gathering of like-minded people and friends. We have no organization, no regular meetings or anything like that. We meet in the back room of a bar or in someone's home and we have a party. One thing we all have in common is that we love jazz. Some of our members are terrific jazz players."

"Do you know some of the younger American writers?" I asked him, ticking off a brief list of names.

"Of course," he answered scornfully to each one. "We're all white Negroes here." (All of the authors I had mentioned, by the way, were already available in Japanese translation.)

"You know," Hayashi said reflectively, "I'm thinking of going to America next year."

"What will you do there?" I asked. Japanese radicals are usually too anti-American to think of going to the United States.

"I don't know. I want to live with Negroes. They're great, those Negroes, aren't they! Maybe I'll get a job and live there forever."

"WHY DO YOU call yourselves criminals?" I asked.

"Because we are," Hayashi explained. "You see, we are revolutionaries, and to be a revolutionary today is to be a criminal. You have to be against the law. At the same time, crime is a revolutionary action. But the revolution we believe in is a permanent revolution. It has no terminal point. What we are against is respectability, and that includes Russia and China too. So we have broken with the Zengakuren and the Communist Party." The Zengakuren, the Japanese student movement that in 1960 was powerful and violent enough to effect the cancellation of President Eisenhower's visit to Japan, has now grown more sedate. Its former leaders of Hayashi's age are mostly settling down and becoming *sarariman*—salaryman, now a Japanese word.

"That's how our movement got started about two years ago," Hayashi went on, "by student leaders fed up with Zengakuren. The radical student leaders, they felt, were just a bunch of squares." He used the English word. In fact, throughout the discussion, which was held in Japanese, I found him using English for all the key words, even though he could not really speak the language.

In the words of one of the founders of the League: "The inner dynamism of revolutionary action comes from evil and chaos. The respectable leaders fail to realize this, and so it is our task to keep it alive. They start out boldly, but in no time at all they lose their inner revolutionary evil and become respectable. They are so inflated by the idea that they are the representatives of the masses that they turn into pompous bureaucrats and organization men.

"Even more basic, the square radicals do not go to the roots of the problem. We live in a world of absurdity, and the absurdity lies not only in the capitalist system but in all respectability and convention based upon restraint. Even socialism —look at China and Russia!—is still a society of restraint, respectability, and squares."

"We don't believe in any of that nonsense about the workers being the chosen instruments of history," Hayashi said. "We believe that the true path of revolution is through self-reliance and complete self-indulgence through art and sex. Every act of sexual freedom or artistic creation is a revolutionary act. The real revolution is the one that takes place within the individual, that liberates him from all inhibitions on his full artistic and sexual expression."

THIS EMPHASIS on art as a form of revolutionary liberation is reflected in the literary and artistic aspirations of the members. Even their orgies seem rather more arty than sexy. According to one firsthand description of the "naked party" celebrating the publication of *The Red Steamship:* "A small jazz combo poured music into the candlelit cellar while people twisted as the spirit moved them. Some sat around talking, others writing articles or poetry. A couple dancing cheek to cheek might be overheard quoting poetry to each other trying to match the bongo rhythms. The nakedness seemed to signify freedom and openness, rather than sexuality."

"Do you go along with Genêt's ideas on homosexuality?" I asked.

"Not exactly," Hayashi replied. "We believe in the right to homosexuality, not necessarily that it is the best thing. Some of our boys do it as a gesture of contempt for respectability and propriety. I don't think we have any real pansies, although sometimes foreign queers show up at our parties. The enemy is respectability."

"What is the opposite of respectable?" I asked him.

"Crazy, fanatic," he replied unhesitatingly. "Overcoming all embarrassment, hesitation, restraint, and inhibitions. Doing what one wants to. Don't forget that these kids have grown up under the most frightful puritanical restraints, and the first step in their liberation is to try out all the things they were forbidden. Our task is to destroy respectability and to bring it into contempt." As a student at an eminently respectable women's university put it: "I just want to get rid of this wishy-washy system. Let's blacken everything. Then maybe something good will come of the whole mess. That's what we are out for. I don't feel like I'm in a vanguard or anything like that. I'm just a carefree, lying, conscientious girl; we're erotic [she too used the English word] and pornographic criminals. Ours is a resistance movement."

"With these ideas," I asked Haya-

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

shi, "what kind of activities can your movement conduct, aside from parties and nose-thumbing gestures?"

"Quite a lot," he answered, "in our own anarchistic way."

One such activity took place on October 31, 1963, when members of the League carried out "uprisings" in ten cities. Their objective was to bring the national elections into contempt. In Kyoto University's law and economics senior room, a black Mass was held: banana skins were spread over the floor, a chicken was slaughtered and its blood mixed with eye medicine and Coca-Cola for the participants to drink, and an orgy was held to the accompaniment of a phonograph pouring forth modern jazz. In another uprising, a group of six members, including a neo-Dada painter and one of the directors of the League's Self-Reliance School, terrified commuters on a train by a quickie theatre of the absurd. Taking over the middle of the swaying train all the way from central Tokyo to the suburbs, they forced passengers to watch a series of wild skits that made use of such ad hoc props as a helmet, an egg, face powder, a flashlight, and a long fuse. Another group set itself the mission of tying up traffic in one of Tokyo's most crowded districts by stretching out on the sidewalks at a busy hour; the pedestrian and traffic tie-up was gratifying. League members considered the uprisings a great success.

In addition to such occasional "actions," members of the League have been preparing themselves for their serious tasks by forming special study groups. One is the Explosives or High Technique Research Society ("high technique" in English), where members engage in a "mechanism revolution" (also in English) and study the manufacture and use of dynamite, TNT, and nitroglycerine. "The time will come," one member told me, "when we shall have to blow up the national authority and power sources." "When that time comes," Hayashi said, "we don't want to be in the ridiculous position some ultra-right-wing terrorists once found themselves in before the war." As part of their plan for a take-over, they had decided to blow up a giant power plant. Everything was perfectly organized. They broke through the barbed wire, passed the guards, and took possession of the plant. They could do anything they wanted, only they suddenly realized they didn't know how to blow it up.

Another important enterprise is the Eroticism Revolution League, whose task is to "destroy sexual monopoly." "We shall form a new type of sexual family, in which everyone will have free sexual access to everyone else," one member told me. "Then this new type of family will spread through all of society." There is already, I learned, a small colony in a remote rural district based on similar ideas, but members of the League of Criminals take a condescending attitude toward it. "They're just a bunch of utopians. We have no objection to what they're doing. It's their right. But you don't overthrow society by withdrawing from it." Members of the League add that armchair philosophizing is totally inadequate. "Modern research methods require experimentation."

The movement is supported by at least one publishing house and a journal (*White Night*) that provides an outlet for the literary work of members and sympathizers.

"When you have had your revolution," I asked Hayashi, "what kind of society will you create?"

"Frankly, we don't know," he confessed. "Perhaps the society we want cannot really exist. Perhaps it is a contradiction in terms to speak of a disharmonious society. Some of our members are studying this matter and trying to work out a sketch of our ideal society. But most of us are willing to leave that to the distant future. For the time being we have our hands full concentrating on our immediate tasks of destruction and individual liberation."

For these tasks they draw on Marx's critique of bourgeois society, on Trotsky's permanent revolution, and on de Sade's systematic violation of the rules of civil society. Their heroes are Jean Genêt's outlaw aristocrat and Norman Mailer's white Negro, and they express themselves through the same channels as do other units of the hipster international, whether in England, France, Poland, or the United States—jazz, sex, and art.

"We even have some real criminals," Hayashi boasted to me. "Several of the boys are expert pickpockets, and they have never been caught."

"Why do they steal?" I asked.

"Because crime is a concrete revolutionary action. It is an expression of contempt for respectable society, and it is a direct blow against it. Besides, they need the money to pay their tuition and expenses."

"What about other crimes?"

"Well," he said, carefully choosing his words, "we don't have any murderers—yet. But some of the boys have made friends with real criminals—ex-convicts and all that sort of thing—and among them there are real rapists and murderers. So we are in touch."

All through our interview I had been nagged by the awareness of Hayashi's respectable-looking wife and child on the other side of the paper doors. One knows that Japanese women are extraordinarily complaisant, but I found it hard to conceive of her listening to our outrageous conversation while she quietly pursued her household tasks.

"How do you explain it?" I asked my companion after we had left. "Does Hayashi's wife agree with his ideas? Does she take part in the orgies? Or what?"

"Of course she doesn't take part in the orgies," my friend answered. "He would kill her if she did. He wants her to be a proper wife and mother. So she listens and doesn't hear. At least, he thinks she doesn't hear. But maybe she does. If Hayashi's talk is all part of his ambivalence, then her response is part of something deeper—trivalence or even quadrivalence, if there is such a word. That's the secret of Japanese women."

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Agony of the Cartoon

HORTENSE CALISHER

SOME POETS, painters, thinkers represent mankind always with the *risus sardonicus* of death and corruption on its face, whirling in a society which is a death dance. Others trace this face with a certain tenderness of perfectibility on it, and see the society too as teleological, pushing along that famous incline toward the stars. Between these two views lie all the gradations of art. In Peter Weiss's play, *The Persecution and Assassination of Marat as Performed by the Inmates of the Asylum of Charenton Under the Direction of the Marquis de Sade* (and as performed with disciplined rage by the Royal Shakespeare Company under the wizardry of Peter Brook), the stage at the Martin Beck Theatre is a pitched one, for real and for metaphysical, angling its inmates *down*, and toward the audience. Musical accompaniment is fifed and tympanied, or rattled from the metal sheets used so often in productions of *Godot*, by inmates placed in the boxes, while a Brechtian chorus of four more sings and mimes from the stage or from trapdoors below. Coulmier, the director of the mental home where de Sade, as an inmate after 1801, wrote some of the theatrical entertainments that were produced there as therapy, sits onstage with his wife and daughter—as indeed the fashionable Parisians who came to watch the antics at Charenton did sit. There are incursions of actors into balcony and orchestra, wherever sit the aristocrats of the Martin Beck. For, as in Genêt's *The Blacks*, the audience is indictable. When it claps the cast at the end of the play, the inmates clap back.

The intent is "total" theatre, and in production terms—short of a possible spastic song-and-dance response from the ticketholders—the play gets it. Everyman is onstage in all the grotesques of his overt and hidden lunacy—the obsessive, the autoerotic, the weeper in her mobcap, the drooler with the thick tongue, all performing their silent rhythms, and attended by coifed male nuns and butcher-clad nurses; the mime chorus is Elizabethanly drunken or whorish; other types and professions pass behind in Molièresque charade. Directorial invention underscores the author's intent at every chance. Where the author himself, careful not to have his play "about" one thing or any actor speak for only one, specifies that the Girondist deputy be played by an erotomaniac "in the smooth, tight trousers of an 'Incroyable,'" then the Royal's customary fondness for humanizing touches of bawdry improves upon this suggestion very versatilely; in a play which as much as anything is about revolution, then the blood poured from buckets at intervals is of course red, white, or blue.

In the modern theatre, where so much device is available (and for all the complaints, so much money for it), audiences have often to quarrel over whether the play is really the thing in a new production, or whether directorial energy has made it so. When the two are so merged as here, that question may remain as unanswerable as the dialectical questions in this play itself—and like them, sets up one of the vital tensions which make theatre. For while it is evident at once that this play is not, like *The Royal Hunt of the Sun*, a weak-minded pageant in which the elephant spectacle is poised on the butterfly wings of bombast, nevertheless the visual and aural confusion is at times overwhelming—too close to circus for us to get it all at one whack. This is an old Brechtian trick, but an older theatrical one. In a sense the play here is swarmed over, even attacked by the production ideas it itself invites, but not swamped. Sometimes, in one of these three-ring whirligigs, there is clear contempt for the play's words, but here the important monologues are delivered at as staid a pace as Hamlet's, underscored by the choral flow. Even in the din at the finale, when all might well be chanting "O Sophonisba! Sophonisba, O!" with all Jamie Thomsons anywhere, instead of: "Charenton Charenton/Napoleon Napoleon/Nation Nation/Revolution Revolution/Copulation Copulation"—one wishes the best wish, to come back for another performance, or to go to the text.

LONDON CRITICS have argued that the play itself derives from a number of fashionable sources; so it does, along with those I have indicated. But it is not merely an adroitly composite echo, though it is composite and does echo within itself. One brilliant idea sustains it: we *are* in the asylum; de Sade *is* producing his play; Marat (at whose actual funeral the real de Sade did deliver the oration) *is* in his bath (to which the real Marat was confined by a skin disease) before us, but in the bathhouse of the asylum, ready to be murdered by Charlotte Corday, toward which event all con-

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tinuity proceeds. The aristocratic onlookers *are* watching, onstage and off. Marat is played by a paranoiac inmate, Corday by a sleepwalking upper-class girl, costumed like an Empire nymph and singing her somnambulist horrors to the lute. The director, always ready to speak for conventional political and social order, must by his very role interrupt at intervals the actions of the "disturbed." The audience has its half-knowledge of history, and an awareness that both history and itself are to be manipulated. So the play at once acquires a juggler's multiplicity of levels, and any idea extractable from it is intended to be seen in movement with the others.

Many so extracted are not new to the world's logic: revolutions return rich and poor to the status quo, achieving nothing; money is Marxist in all its implications; man is a mad animal with further plans of madness. No criticism here, at least from me. Precisely because most ideas are not new to the world, ideas alone are unbearable in art, which must clothe and externalize them, it doesn't matter how as long as a forceful unrest is successfully raised under and around them. Mr. Weiss's juggling is one way of doing that; he is not interested in a longitudinal play which progresses toward a resolution in the key of C—or even C sharp. "The important thing is to pull yourself up by your own hair/ to turn yourself inside out and see the whole world with fresh eyes" (Marat). Well and good, so far as it goes, and with a sop to existentialism too; though the pointlessly horrible aspects of our world are on record, they bear repeating. And although the energy with which both language and action here overstate, restate, and confuse themselves is familiarly Brechtian in mode, it is merely one of the many methods of drama, used to send us in pursuit of these elusive balances, these words lost in excitement—that is, back to the play.

HERE, I suspect one will find that Weiss has a multiplicity of very realistic images, but after that brilliant beginning, no metaphor that would sustain it toward greatness. Nobody is asking for "answers," or a play with a literal "point," which is why I say "metaphor." Ideas may not resolve, but once the chaos of our world has been established, plays still may, and not necessarily on an up note—as Genêt, Sartre, and Beckett have shown. This play is not surreal *enough*. The "chaos" is as well ordered as a concertmaster's. And though Weiss clearly knows that "total" theatre is not just "everybody running," his play's total statement falls far short of Brecht also, absconding, as is currently fashionable in so many of the arts, with an implied: "Get excited. Start thinking. But don't ask *me*!"

As the uncurtained scenes progress by topic and harangue—Stifled Unrest, Corday's First Visit (she has three), Marat's Liturgy, A Regrettable Intervention (a paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer, e.g., "forgive us our good deeds and lead us into temptation"), Marquis de Sade Is Whipped, Song and Mime of the Glorification of the Beneficiary, to quote a few—the most interesting and best-maintained dialectical balance is that between de Sade and Marat, the freshest antitheses being there. In Conversation on Life and Death, de Sade, who hates Nature, "the passionless spectator" who "goads us to greater and greater acts," complains that "even our inquisition gives us no pleasure nowadays . . . our postrevolutionary murders . . . are all official. . . . There's no singular personal death to be had." And Marat replies: "If I am extreme, I am not extreme in the same way as you/Against Nature's silence I use action/In the vast indifference I invent a meaning . . . work to alter . . . and improve." Later, de Sade says: "Before deciding what is wrong . . . we must find out what we are . . . for me the only reality is imagination/the world inside myself." And Marat replies: "No restless ideas can break down walls/I never believed the pen alone could destroy institutions."

We appreciate this for a number of nicely posed—and mixed—reasons. Clarity, in the midst of a continuous-movement play, is welcome. We rise to how neatly Jesuitical it is that de Sade, that doctrinaire of the perverse and the exaggerated, should be made to speak for or stand for the inner imagination (usually assigned to gentler lyrists), and that it should be Marat, apostle of revolutions artistically complete to the last blood-drop, who itches symptomatically on the cross of that bloodletting, and dreams of action—in his bath. I say "stand for" with intent. For the counterside of plays which juggle, raise the hair, and leave us is that if the smoke clears for even a moment, the people tend to stand and stare at us from under the paternal arm of the playwright, as the adroit antitheses they are.

WEIGH THESE as one may, Weiss's stance is clear enough without statement. He writes of humanity in those ever-resuscitated grotesques of flesh-hatred which, in the long line from Bosch to Breughel and before, we used to call medieval. It is of course a genre which must accompany us forever, like our own smell. Lately the Germans have done it best; between wars they have an especial talent for it. Curiously, whether done by a Jew who lives in Sweden, or a half-Pole, it is recognizable as German still. Günter Grass's robust humor gives the genre more depth; what grim jokes there are in the Weiss *Marat-Sade* are very like those in the Royal Shakespeare Company's recent London production of Brecht's *Puntilla* at which American audiences seem to laugh timidly, at least in this kind of play.

To be able to speak of the *Marat-Sade* as "this kind" of play may also be a measure of its scope, and of Brecht's "epic" theatre in general. Must it always be couched in terms of the cartoon? Or is that why, though the artist is not obliged to answer his own questions, "this kind" of play seems to truncate the question before it is asked? The power and agony of the medieval cartoons of humanity is in their assumption, under the grimacing flesh and the snake-scales, of a spiritual antithesis. Mr. Weiss neither demands nor assumes *any* antithesis, which is why his play remains one-dimensional and he correctly describes it as Marxist. Within that span, it has the mesmerism our own caricatures always have for us. We see the normals regarding the lunatics regarding the normals. It is no wonder that *everybody* claps.

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Brave New Generation

ROLAND GELATT

A NEW GENERATION of musicians is at the threshold. The welcome mat is already out for them at leading concert halls and opera houses, and now their presence is beginning to be felt on records as well. This season's releases are crowded with their names—pianists, violinists, singers, conductors making first appearances—and in almost every case there is something memorable to report. Contrary to certain dour expectations, the fine art of interpretation shows no sign of dying out with the likes of Rubinstein, Casals, and Klemperer.

One trait seems common to all these young musicians: an utter lack of trepidation in the face of challenge. Rather than approaching the depths by easy stages, they are diving in head first. For example, a twenty-five-year-old Brazilian pianist, João Carlos Martins, has made his debut in nothing less than the complete *Well-Tempered Clavier* (Connoisseur Society 8657; seven discs, mono or stereo). Despite some stylistic derelictions, it adds up to an extraordinary achievement. Martins is clearly in revolt against the harpsichord—and against the school of Bach interpretation that would turn the piano into an imitation harpsichord. He glories in the pianistic possibilities of the preludes and fugues, treating them as if the harpsichord had never existed, as if Bach had known all along that his keyboard works would some day be performed on a modern concert grand, with all its manifold shadings of tone and varieties of accent.

Unfortunately, his disdain for the harpsichord seems coupled with a disdain for musicology. To a degree, Martins is a throwback to an era when it was permissible to play Bach in an expansively poetic style without undue regard for eighteenth-century performance traditions; he seems strangely ignorant of some basic principles of ornamentation. On the other hand, his insistence on rigorous analytic clarity, even at the most breakneck tempos, and his general posture of cool objectivity are thoroughly contemporary. There is a bit of Harold Samuels in his approach and a bit of Glenn Gould, but the blend is unique and compelling. His work may not always be correct, but it is invariably beautiful.

Peter Serkin has also selected Bach for his debut as a solo recording pianist. His performance of the *Goldberg Variations* (RCA Victor 2851, mono or stereo) has all the virtues one would expect from the talented son of so musical a family: solid tone, clean articulation, a logical sense of pacing, a generally studious manner. Nevertheless, along about the fifteenth variation I began to echo Justice Shallow's "'Tis a most excellent piece of work; would 'twere over." Young Serkin does not yet command a sufficient imaginative intensity to offset the tedium lurking in any long set of variations. But he has technique and taste, and an endearing simplicity at a time of life when most musicians are trying frantically to make an effort. Mozart and Schubert should be next on his agenda.

ON THE JACKET of her first recording, the Dvorak *Violin Concerto* (with the Czech Philharmonic under Peter Maag—Deutsche Grammophon 19120, mono or stereo), Edith Peinemann is described as "the youngest fully equipped representative of the specifically German school of violinists." I am not sure just what this means, but if it refers to purity of tone and line, an impeccable sense of intonation, and vigorous rhythmic élan, then Miss Peinemann is a splendid exemplar. Everything about her playing is delicately shaped, finely etched, trimly contoured. This is not to imply an absence of thrust. Miss Peinemann has plenty of power when needed, but even in slashing attacks her sounds remain resilient and focused. Part of the magic in this interpretation can, of course, be attributed to the Czech Philharmonic, one of the world's great orchestras and without equal at rendering the music of Dvorak.

No claims to the Germanic heritage are advanced for Zubin Mehta in the jacket notes accompanying his debut recording. But from the sound of this Bruckner *Ninth* (London 6462, mono or stereo), this young Indian conductor might easily be mistaken for a native Viennese or a Münchner. He has, to be sure, powerful accomplices in the Vienna Philharmonic, an orchestra which is as much to the Bruckner manner born as the Czech Philharmonic is to the Dvorak. But Mehta deserves full credit for paying such sympathetic heed to the ripe sonorities, the dramatic pauses, and the proclamatory profundities of the composer's idiom. Except for its tight control and refusal to maunder, there is nothing at all youthful or jet-age about this reading; it is *echt* Bruckner to the core. Mehta manages to impart a firm structure to the sprawling first movement, avoiding the trap of suffocating its luscious passages with heavy treacle, and he flails away magnificently in the tempestuous Scherzo—a mael-

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

strom of demonic fury and snarling dissonances. His ability to unfold a musical line to its dramatic optimum makes one eager to hear Mehta's first opera recording.

MEANWHILE, opera lovers can content themselves with an exciting new prima donna, a Spanish soprano named Montserrat Caballé. She arrived in New York last spring with little advance buildup, took the title role in a concert performance of Donizetti's *Lucrezia Borgia*, and sent the audience (this listener among them) into a delirium. It is perhaps ungallant to describe an unfamiliar singer by making comparisons with familiar predecessors, but it is useful as a means of characterizing vocal quality and artistic makeup. A reasonable replica of Caballé, then, can be evoked by combining in roughly equal parts the tawny, slightly metallic timbre of Victoria de los Angeles, the floating pianissimo top register of Zinka Milanov, the dramatically sculptured phrasing of Maria Callas, and the rock-steady production of Birgit Nilsson. Too good to be true? Perhaps. But when the lady recently returned to New York for a concert performance of *Roberto Devereux*, another period piece by Donizetti, she set us cheering wildly once more.

Her first record for general domestic release (not counting imports) is a collection of Bellini and Donizetti arias, including two of the show-stoppers with which she dazzled us in New York (RCA Victor 2862, *mono or stereo*). The recital, recorded in London with an orchestra and chorus under the direction of Carlo Felice Cillario, offers a good likeness of Caballé's vocal resources and musical proclivities, as well as an absorbing excursion into some rarely heard repertoire, but it does not quite duplicate the impact that this singer can make in person. It may be that she needs the stimulus of an audience to sing at her best, or it may be that she was somewhat below par at the time of the recording session. At any rate, nobody should be deterred from hearing the record. Even at less than peak form, Miss Caballé is an eminently satisfying artist.

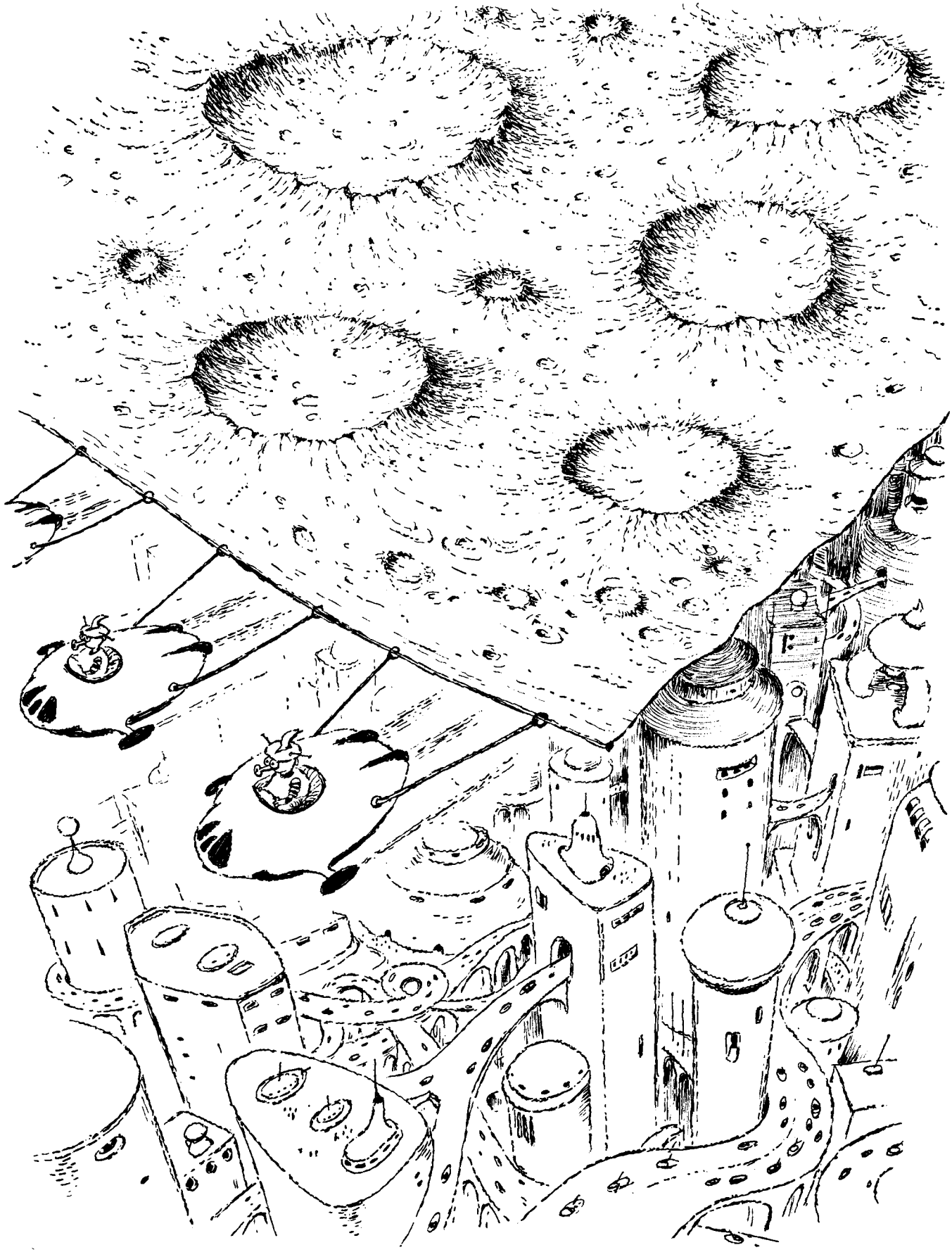
So is the American soprano Evelyn Lear, whose solo debut on records takes the form of a Hugo Wolf song recital, with accompaniments by Erik Werba (Deutsche Grammophon 18979, mono or stereo). The prospect of an American singer undertaking the most subtle songs in the German language might seem less than enticing. But for years Lear has been a member of the Berlin Deutsche Oper and has got the spirit and inflection of German musical discourse in the marrow of her bones. Unlike most other contemporary practitioners of the art, she performs *lieder* relatively straight, without telegraphing every sly wink and anguished torment. In this regard she is directly in the Elisabeth Schumann tradition. Although her voice is sexier and deeper than Schumann's angelic soprano, she has clearly the same obsession for spinning out a seamless legato (no mean feat in German), for "placing" the voice in dead center of a note, and for maintaining a consistent mood without recourse to vocal posturing. The highest compliment I can give this record is to say that Evelyn Lear's rendition of *"In der Frühe"* stands comparison with Elisabeth Schumann's—and in my book that's the works.

Pharos

The reefs are still there,
shoals, ruinous, tide-ripped
graveyards. Greeks, aware
of what cannot be changed, charted theirs. Egypt
set priests at signal fires. Rome built towers,
wonders of the world, and where they were
stood later lights of ours
with salt-caked names: Haulbowline Rock, Barfleur,
Eddystone, Dhu Heartach, Cape Race,
Lizard, The Graves. Caissons were sunk
in muck, tons of rock joggled in place,
stones corbelled, a thousand fires shrunk
to a lone, revolving eye or a honed star
to slit distance, flicker: Beware. Beware.
But beacons wear away under sea stroke. Radar
beats to us now through the howling air
with the same warning Greeks at their oars kept
time to: reefs and shoals wait where
they have always been, fanged, smoking, wave-swept.

—NANCY PRICE

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



By Fernando Krahn

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS

'Our Greatest Living Man of Letters'

RICHARD KOSTELANETZ

No American writer receives a judgment so nearly unanimous as Edmund Wilson: "our greatest living man of letters." In a country where true greatness is measured not only by the acclaim of one's friends but of the enemies of one's friends, such a pervasive reputation for supreme excellence is rare indeed—a consensus in recent times equaled only by William Faulkner and perhaps T. S. Eliot. Unlike his two contemporaries, however, Wilson has remained productive throughout his sixties without suffering a conspicuous decline in the quality of his work. In his seventieth year, 1965, he released a study of contemporary Canadian culture, *O Canada,* and a selection from his literary journalism of the past fifteen years, *The Bit Between My Teeth;* for the spring of 1966, Wilson's publisher (Farrar, Straus) promises a revised and expanded edition of the earlier *Europe Without Baedeker.* Along with the first critical book on the critic, Sherman Paul's rather oblique and limited *Edmund Wilson,* these books prompt a general consideration of Wilson's achievement.

Most impressive, at first glance, is the broad range of his interests. In addition to several plays, some poetry and translations of poetry, introductions and notes to several anthologies, and two novels, *Memoirs of Hecate County* (1946) and *I Thought of Daisy* (1929), Wilson has written expository works on a variety of subjects, the most famous of which are literary criticism: *Axel's Castle* (1931), on the development of modern symbolist writing; *The Wound and the Bow* (1941), on the psychology of literary creation; the collections of literary journalism: *The Shores of Light* (1952), on the 1920's and 1930's; *Classics and Commercials* (1950), on the 1940's; and *The Triple Thinkers* (1938), on miscellaneous issues and writers. Less known but nearly as fine are his reportings on the American scene, written largely in the early 1930's, collected first in *The American Jitters* (1932) and then in *The American Earthquake* (1958); the traveler's reports, *Europe Without Baedeker* (1947) and *Red, Black, Blond and Olive* (1956); the anthropological journalism, *Apologies to the Iroquois* (1960); and his polemic on contemporary politics, *The Cold War and the Income Tax* (1963). Finally, Wilson's two most invaluable books are his intellectual histories—the first on the development of European socialist thought, *To the Finland Station* (1940), the other on the impact of the Civil War upon American intellectual life, *Patriotic Gore* (1962).

Just as extraordinary as the diversity of his interests is the high level of general competence he brings to every subject he discusses. Although "brilliant" is probably the word most frequently used to describe his writing, he possesses the classical virtues of balance, proportion, and true perception, rather than a penchant for radical statements, outrageous connections, or sparkling sentences. Indeed, Wilson at his best, I would judge, is sane and disinterested; an overwhelming passion, whether of love, as for Edna St. Vincent Millay, or hate, as for the United States government, warps not only his sense of value but his prose.

More than any other American critic, except perhaps James Gibbons Huneker, Wilson has evinced a capacity to make current evaluations that have remained substantial; nearly all of his estimates of his contemporaries are valid today. More important, many of his original insights are still accepted. In 1924, in the first criticism of Ernest Hemingway ever to appear in America, Wilson wrote in the *Dial* of a "naïveté of language, often passing into the colloquialism of the character dealt with, which serves actually to convey profound emotions and complex states of mind. It is a distinctively American development in prose—as opposed to more or less successful American achievements in the traditional style of English prose—which has artistically justified itself at its best as a limpid shaft into deep waters." Here, as always, Wilson's own prose attains

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

a lucidity of statement, a grace of tone, and a precision of exposition that are his special marks.

WILSON'S total achievement is the product of the most carefully cultivated literary career in America. First, he received at the Hill School and Princeton University an education of a classical thoroughness unattainable today. With a doggedness more possible in America than in Europe, where education generally terminates upon the acquisition of a final degree, Wilson continued to study, taking a summer-school course in economics, learning German at forty to read Marx in the original, later learning Hebrew at Princeton, more recently learning Hungarian for a trip to Budapest. To supplement his traditional knowledge, Wilson also managed to acquire the lateral education that was to enable him to write on various fields when he assumed charge of the back pages of the *New Republic* in 1926.

This background equipped him to solve the problem, perhaps more threatening to an American writer than to a European, of how to sustain his career. First, realizing that American editors tend to identify a writer with a particular task (reporting the very latest trend, sentimentalizing eccentricity, demolishing the book of the moment, etc., etc.), Wilson made a point of doing as many kinds of writing, on as many areas or subjects as possible, for a variety of magazines. A less ambitious intelligence, upon completing *Axel's Castle*, would have settled down to reviewing the modern writers and critical studies of their work and surveying the latest trends in modern fiction; Wilson moved on to political reportage and intellectual history. In the late 1940's and 1950's, when he recognized that he was too old to follow the contemporary scene, he turned to reviewing critical studies of the classical writers or to defining aspects of American culture, as well as examining the later works of his contemporaries. (Indicatively, the best essays in *The Bit Between My Teeth* deal with Boris Pasternak, the Marquis de Sade, T. S. Eliot, dictionaries, and current tendencies in the American language.) Wilson's variousness meant that a magazine hired him to *write* rather than to fulfill a prescribed task. It is for the shape of his career, even more than for specific achievements, that Wilson has become a true hero for many young American writers.

Wilson's literary journalism, collected into books, was more than just the sum of its parts—as so many collected "pieces" are. *The Shores of Light*, Lionel Trilling once wrote, "constitutes the best account of the culture of the period I know." In this respect he has no rival in American literary history. Yet Wilson's critical writing is never "definitive" in the academic sense; it does not offer the Last Word. Rather, he has produced such supremely intelligent and broadly conceived studies that his essays on, say, Joyce, Proust, Pasternak, and Hemingway, among others, will always be the definitive introductions to these authors.

His major failing as an intellectual, I would argue, is that he has

frequently allowed his passion for simplicity to make many subjects much neater than they really are. His drive for a concise style, wholly admirable in itself, has often compelled Wilson to make statements that ridiculously simplify terribly difficult and elusive materials. In the most notorious example of this fault, his review of a guide to *Finnegans Wake*, Wilson advised, "The great thing is to get the hang and to follow the line of the myth," adding, "Joyce counts on a certain dimness to give the effect of a dream; and for people who do like to solve puzzles, the puzzles are fun to solve." Elsewhere Wilson warns, inventing a principle inapplicable to anything else, "You have to take it rather slowly, a section at a time, and you have to keep on rereading it. Joyce worked on it through seventeen years, and it is equivalent to seventeen books by the ordinary gifted writer."

Moreover, his drive for simplicity in recent years has become such a passion that Wilson is uncritically sympathetic toward all kinds of cultural primitiveness—Iroquois reservations, French Canada, the American South before the Civil War—and such essentially uncomplicated figures as Morley Callaghan, Max Beerbohm, Max Nomad, and "the only [contemporary] American fiction writers I always read . . . Salinger, James Baldwin, Edwin O'Connor." In Wilson's judgment nothing is more horribly complex than contemporary America, especially its government, and nothing is more distasteful. Indeed, the major distortions of Wilson's recent work, especially his sympathy for the French-Canadian terrorists, stem precisely from this antipathy, which continually forces him to glibly conceived dichotomies. The more one reads Wilson, the harder it is not to believe that his 1958 encounter with the Internal Revenue Service, reported in *The Cold War and the Income Tax*, caused a psychological trauma that has affected all his subsequent writings.

THIS does not take away from his accomplishment. He has made an admirable profession out of expository writing. He never assumed, as many do today, that the critic has a wisdom or intelligence superior (or inferior) to the imaginative writer or that the magazine article will replace fiction. Rather, he saw that expository writing is a certain kind of work, capable of a certain cultural function (largely the concise presentation of information and opinion), requiring a certain intellectual preparation and a particular style of prose. Wilson raised this writing to a cultural level equal to the greatest art or most substantial history: and for this reason he deserves that unanimous judgment—"our greatest living man of letters."

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

From da Vinci to Detroit

HENNIG COHEN

THE AMERICAN AUTOMOBILE, by John B. Rae. *Chicago. $5.95.*

With such chapter titles as "The Birth of the Automobile," "Growing Pains," and "Coming of Age," John B. Rae inevitably invites attention to the ancestry, obstetrical situation, and upbringing of the American automotive industry. Briefly put: the forebears were European; delivery was rather easy, though it occurred at a considerable distance from the place of conception and after a prolonged gestation period; and the offspring has subsequently flourished in the care of its fond foster parents.

The idea for an "auto-mobile," that is, a self-moving vehicle, goes back at least as far as Roger Bacon, the thirteenth-century English philosopher and scientist who foresaw that "cars can be made so that without animals they will move with unbelievable rapidity," and to Leonardo da Vinci, who planned a prototype of the armored car or tank. In 1769, a French army engineer, Nicholas Joseph Cugnot, using a steam engine as a power source, designed a three-wheeled gun carriage that moved along the highway at three miles an hour. In England there were very promising experiments with steam omnibuses on the public roads early in the nineteenth century, but they could not overcome vigorous opposition by the stagecoach and rail interests.

THE CONTRIBUTIONS of the American inventor Oliver Evans to the remote beginnings of the automobile industry have a distinctively national cast. In 1787, Evans built a flour mill on the Brandywine near Wilmington, Delaware. The mill was laid out as a continuous-flow operation; the grain was handled mechanically at each stage, from its entrance into the hopper to its storage in flour barrels in the holds of the ships tied up at the adjacent wharf. In 1805, Evans built "the Orukter Amphibolos, or Amphibious Digger," a steam-driven dredge that ran about the streets of Philadelphia under its own power for several days before it was put to use in the Schuylkill River. Evans, though he originated neither and never combined them, successfully applied the assembly-line technique for the first time and introduced the self-propelled vehicle into the United States. Both were well received. The Orukter Amphibolos was apparently viewed as an impressive curiosity with potential usefulness for the day when waterways would be superseded by some form of overland transportation. The layout of the flour mill had immediate application in the labor-scarce economy and was widely emulated.

What is generally regarded as the first trip in an American-built gasoline-powered vehicle took place on September 21, 1893, in Springfield, Massachusetts. The driver was J. Frank Duryea and the designer was his brother Charles, who was also a bicycle mechanic. They had been inspired by a description in the *Scientific American* of cars being manufactured in Germany by Karl Benz.

Since that memorable day, some 220 million motor vehicles have been manufactured in the United States, of which more than 86 million are presently in use. A single automobile maker, General Motors, has become the world's largest manufacturing enterprise. This is a remarkable state of affairs, the more remarkable because it is pretty much what the bulk of Americans took for granted would happen. As Rae, who looks cautiously in every direction before making a turn, observes: "All this energetic production of motor vehicles was based on a strong public demand for them. From the outset the American people took enthusiastically to the horseless carriage."

Hostility to the horseless carriage in the United States seems to have been limited mainly to persons financially or emotionally involved with horses. By 1895, Thomas Edison was telling newspaper reporters that "The horseless vehicle is the coming wonder," and Gimbels and Macys were advertising imported cars. Popular interest is revealed in other ways. In 1896, the year the Duryea Motor Wagon Company made its first sale, the Barnum and Bailey Circus included an automobile among its exhibits. A song entitled "Live in an Automobile" was published in 1899. In 1900 there were 4,192 cars sold for an average price of about $1,000, and the first automobile show, an enormous success, was held in Madison Square Garden. In 1901, the auto first appeared on a postage stamp, a transportation series commemorating the Pan-American Exposition. In 1902, the American Automobile Association was organized, and in 1905 it was followed by the Society of Automotive Engineers. The major milestone was 1908, the year that Henry Ford put the Model T on the market and William C. Durant founded General Motors.

HENRY FORD and General Motors represented opposite approaches to the same end. Both were responding to the immense popular demand for cars. Ford's answer was a single model that could be produced cheaply but which could also compete in performance. By 1925, the Model T touring car was selling for $290 at the factory—roughly two months and three weeks' wages. A year later, the last full year of Model T production, a majority of the more than 22 million registered automobiles were Fords.

Ford succeeded because his first consideration was to make a car suitable for the mass market, after which he sought ways of cutting production costs. This he accomplished through the creation of a moving assembly line. He also had some queer notions about economics and labor relations. In 1914, the same year he attained complete assembly-line production, he announced a basic wage of $5 a day, twice the prevailing rate. His belief was that profits resulting from efficient production should be passed on to his workers in the form of higher wages and to consumers in the form of lower prices and rebates but least of all to stockholders be-

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Beyond the Cold War
Marshall D. Shulman

Although the conflicts and tensions of the Cold War are still evident, the language and ideas associated with this postwar period are over. An eminent authority on the Soviet Union and a former Special Assistant to the Secretary of State outlines the changes in US-USSR relations and indicates the new perspective from which we must view all future international policies.

"A sound, well-balanced compendium of enlightened liberal thinking about what American policy now should be... exceptionally skillful." — Frederick C. Barghoorn.

cloth $3.75; paper $1.25

Letters from the Paris Peace Conference
Charles Seymour

Perceptive letters from young Charles Seymour, who later became president of Yale, record the historically crucial days of peace negotiations after World War I and offer insights into the personalities involved. $7.50

publishers of
The Vinland Map and the Tartar Relation
$20.00

available through your bookstore
Yale University Press
New Haven and London
in Canada: McGill University Press

"PREDICTIONS FOR '66: *Nelson and Winthrop Rockefeller, trying to find out if New York and Arkansas add up to more than Texas, will be brushed aside by Robert and Edward Kennedy, who will have proved at least that New York and Massachusetts add up to more than New York and Arkansas.*"

For the current issue of NATIONAL REVIEW send 25¢ to Dept. P-3, 150 East 35th St., New York, N. Y. 10016.

Quick facts about Series E Savings Bonds

- You get back $4 for every $3 at maturity (7¾ years)
- Your Bonds are replaced free if lost, destroyed or stolen
- You can get your money when you need it
- You pay no state or local income tax and can defer payment of federal tax until the Bonds are cashed.

Buy E Bonds for growth—H Bonds for current income

BUY UNITED STATES SAVINGS BONDS

cause they contribute nothing to enhance efficiency.

These ideas were apparently intuitive rather than the result of some logical process. Their impact, especially the methodology of the assembly line and the concept of the worker as consumer, was revolutionary.

The Tin Lizzie, famed in song and story, died because Ford made it possible for wage earners to aspire to something better. He continued to turn out cars that were basically unchanged from the 1908 model, blind to the fact that closed cars, more comfortable and more attractive than the Model T, were becoming available on the market for two or three hundred dollars *more*—and that price was only one factor and by no means the most important in determining what the American public would buy.

General Motors supplanted Ford as the leader of the industry because Durant responded to the public demand in a quite different way. He felt that a big company should produce a variety of models, so that if one failed, another would offset the loss. Only a giant corporation could sustain such a rationale, and Durant's talent lay in promoting combinations and mergers. Alfred P. Sloan, Jr., the organization specialist who became president of General Motors in 1923, two years after Durant's departure, saw that no single man could manage so great an enterprise. Thereafter policy was a group matter and authority decentralized. And the giant grew larger because, in selling as well as in manufacturing, costs decline as volume rises.

READING this book is rather like driving on the turnpike. It is straightforward, efficient, economical, and basically safe but lacking in the vistas that byways often provide. Rae focuses, as I suppose he must, on the automobile and the industry. I found myself more interested in the fleeting glimpses we get of the national character. "It would be an exaggeration to say that the automobile made Americans a mobile people," he informs us in his pedestrian fashion. "It would be more accurate to say that an already mobile people was given the

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

means to travel farther, faster, and more freely." And he adds, "There was no great folk migration involved."

It is not this simple. Migration, as the demographer Everett Lee defines it, is permanent or semi-permanent change of residence. In these terms, migration in the United States is of a different order of magnitude from that of any other country. Over twenty-five per cent of the native population resides outside the state of birth, and this figure has remained fairly stable for a century. The more expansive the land and the higher the degree of industrialization, the greater the rate of migration. In America today, migration is an assertion of individualism in a mass society; the automobile, its principal instrument, is likewise a product of mass society serving the private purposes of the individual. Is it any wonder, then, that an individualistic, technologically oriented people in a spacious country should have welcomed the automobile with such enthusiasm?

Flawed Diamond

JAY JACOBS

THE HUSTLER'S HANDBOOK, by Bill Veeck with Ed Linn. *Putnam. $5.95.*

THE AMERICAN DIAMOND, by Branch Rickey with Robert Riger. Illustrated. *Simon and Schuster. $12.50.*

Bill Veeck and the late Branch Rickey were two—perhaps the only two—innovators in an affiliation of executives otherwise devoted to the unremitting pursuit of the status quo. It was Rickey who introduced the Negro into organized baseball, Veeck who performed the same service for a midget pinch hitter named Eddie Gaedel; Rickey who devised the form of legalized peonage that came to be known as the minor-league farm system, Veeck who conceived the idea of transporting relief pitchers from the bullpen to the mound in automobiles; Rickey who finally forced the expansion of the

Perhaps you've promised yourself you'd subscribe to The Christian Science Monitor someday. This is the perfect "someday" — do it now and you'll save half the cost. We'll send you 100 issues for only $3.93. That's about 4 months of exclusive news coverage for less than 4¢ a copy!

The Monitor is a daily newspaper that's written largely by the people on its staff. You get first-hand reporting from Monitor correspondents all over the globe. You get first-rate analysis of the news by editors who treat you as an adult.

This paper is concerned with what man is achieving, regardless of the area of achievement. The Monitor is profoundly interested in progress whether it be in politics, foreign affairs, race relations, business, finance, law enforcement, sports, travel, books, entertainment, automobiles, fashion, or even chess.

If you want award-winning news coverage of all areas of human endeavor this widely quoted newspaper is for you. You can profit from it intellectually, conversationally — perhaps even financially. And you'll look forward to its arrival like that of an understanding friend.

The Christian Science Monitor is not what you'd call a religious paper, if that's what you've been thinking. It's truly a news newspaper — for any alert person who wants the significant events of the world in sharp focus. It takes you further into the news than a local paper can. (And why wait until the end of the week to get news analysis in print.)

Our editors bring perspective to events that matter. They help relate today to both yesterday and tomorrow. But they let you do your share of the thinking. The Monitor is designed for grown-ups — but there's nothing in it, in either news or advertising, that a child shouldn't see.

For 100 issues you now pay only $3.93. That's about four months — at half the regular subscription price. Clip the coupon.

Now half price: one of the world's great newspapers.

Dear Christian Science Monitor: I'm ready to try one of the world's great newspapers.

Send me 100 issues of the Monitor (6 days a week for about 4 months). I understand I pay just $3.93. That's less than 4¢ a copy — half the usual price. Thanks for the savings!

HALF PRICE 1/2

Name_____

Street_____

City_____ State_____ Zip_____

☐ Check or m.o. enclosed ☐ Bill me later R1

Mail coupon to Christian Science Monitor, Box 125, Astor Station, Boston, Mass. 02123

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

major leagues, Veeck who invented the exploding scoreboard.

Branch Rickey's niche in the Baseball Hall of Fame is assured (although when he occupies it, he may be hard to locate among all the journeyman infielders who have been admitted in recent years); Bill Veeck has been effectively blackballed by his fellow executives. Obviously, Rickey's contributions to the Great National Bore have been as far-reaching and as permanent as Veeck's have been frivolous and ephemeral. And just as obviously, the juxtaposition of two books by these seminal thinkers is bound to be the worst mismatch since Sandy Koufax last took on the Yanks. Why, then (the catcher has just signaled for a rhetorical question, low and inside), is Veeck's *The Hustler's Handbook* one of the best baseball books ever written, while Rickey's *The American Diamond* is as dull, predictable, and witless as an intentional base on balls?

WELL, for a start, let's consider both authors' references to the thirty-first President of the United States. Rickey's introduction begins with this pious invocation: "Our former President Herbert Hoover expressed this tribute to our national pastime: 'The rigid voluntary rules of right and wrong, as applied in American sports, are second only to religion in strengthening the morals of the American people . . . and baseball is the greatest of all team sports.' " Veeck (who has a few ideas of his own on the voluntary rules of right and wrong as applied in American sports) has this to say about "good gray ball players, playing a good gray game and reading the good gray *Wall Street Journal*": "Today's players all seem to be in training to become Herbert Hoover."

Rickey, who died recently at the age of eighty-three, probably had forgotten more baseball than Veeck, a second-generation club executive, will ever know, and it's a pity that *The American Diamond* must be his testament. The book is nothing but a sanctimonious anthology of platitudes. Veeck, on the other hand, can best be described in his own words (as applied to Jim Brosnan, a fair-to-middling relief pitcher who was ostracized by organized ball after writing a couple of candid books of his own): "He had the true writer's gift for the recognizable truth and the true writer's sense of rebellion. You read [his] book and, knowing nothing about baseball, you had to say to yourself, 'Yes, this is the way it is.' "

Here is Rickey on the confrontation between pitcher and batter: "The greatest single individual contest both in action and the suspense immediately preceding the action that ever confronts any player in any sport comes when the batsman faces the pitcher."

And Veeck: "The great portion of any ball game consists of the pitcher holding the ball or throwing it to the catcher. Anything that can somehow turn that frozen tableau into a scene fraught with drama and excitement has solved about seventy-five per cent of your problems."

Rickey on the Demon Rum: "I've seen the mixture of alcohol and professional baseball for sixty years. They don't mix. This is to the advantage of the player, and total abstinence is the only sensible safeguard."

Veeck (in a chapter wistfully entitled "Where are the Drunks of Yesteryear?"): "Deplore it if you will, but Grover Cleveland Alexander drunk was a better pitcher than Grover Cleveland Alexander sober. . . . It is customary . . . to say that if . . . the P. Waners [Paul Waner of Pittsburgh, who "was always tough up there at the plate, but never tougher than when he was playing off a drunk"] had only 'taken better care of themselves,' there was no telling how great they would have been, thereby completely missing the meaning of their lives."

Rickey on management: "Without exception, the major league clubs are owned by men of high character who are worthy of the full confidence of the public."

Veeck: "As a man with some experience as a promoter, I would doubt whether anyone reaching the age of consent still believes that . . . baseball operators—your humble host included—are sportsmen, benefactors or philanthropists." (Veeck devotes several chapters to club owners and executives, portraying them —with the ring of absolute truth—as venal: "carpetbagging" opportunists altogether devoid of a sense of public responsibility, drunken bullies, near-cretins, and confidence men. Rickey is accorded a whole somewhat awestruck chapter in the Veeck book. It is called "Snake Oil for Sale.")

THE RICKEY BOOK is in essence the same warmed-over stew that my coevals and I were served up with reassuring regularity some thirty years ago, when we and the world were a lot simpler, with all the standard ingredients included: the author's all-time all-star team (with the inevitable selections); sentimental evocations of the Gashouse Gang, the Sultan of Swat, and Brooklyn's Beloved Bums; the litany of Ty Cobb's unappeasable drives toward dominance, both afield and in mufti; the tips on "inside" baseball; the Pantheon of "immortals," all of whom were either "Gargantuan" or Christlike ("Christy Mathewson's high contribution to baseball was more than greatness as a pitcher. He was what many men want their sons to be. To millions who never saw him, he personified a rare combination of intelligence and physical achievement. His handsome open face and quiet way of life, on the field and off, reflected dignity and refinement . . . ," etc. etc.).

The Veeck book, as its title implies, concentrates on the game's more raffish aspects and, by implication at least, on a few home truths that a Branch Rickey could or would not acknowledge. The rural America that shaped baseball to its present form no longer exists. To survive, the game must adapt itself to the entertainment (and not the religious) needs of mid-twentieth-century urban America, and to the cool climate in which today's youth moves. As cynical as Veeck may pretend to be, it is he—and not the Rickeys of the game—who is most deeply concerned with the viability of baseball, and, lacking the rolltop-desk mentality of his erstwhile colleagues, he is willing to admit that "the public-relations pap that is forever 'reaffirming the grand tradition of baseball as the National Pastime' by picturing the players as somewhat retarded devotees of bubble gum and comic books does not really attract anybody except a few retarded devotees of bubble gum and comic books."

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Hudson's COMPARE-AND-SAVE Vitamin and Drug Offer

COMPARE the formulas...COMPARE the prices...then take your choice!

Now—Hudson invites you to compare its famous vitamins, drugs and toiletries with other nationally advertised brands . . . side by side! We'll gladly sell you either one.

Would you like to join the millions of thrifty American families who buy their vitamins, drugs and toiletries direct by mail from Hudson? All Hudson products are laboratory fresh and of the highest quality. They are delivered right to your door with a 30-day money back guarantee.

How does Hudson do it? It's simple. By selling direct to you by mail. There is no middleman. The savings are passed on to you.

(Remember, by law, ingredients of all vitamin compounds must be shown on the label. Hudson quality control assures you there are no better vitamins made at any price.)

Order the products you want on coupon below and mail it today.

UNICAP ▸
100 CAPSULES . . $3.11*

Hudson
◂ QUIN-KAPS
100 CAPSULES . . $1.50

FORMULA	QUIN-KAPS (Hudson)	UNICAP (Upjohn)
Vitamin A 1.5 mg.	5,000 U.S.P. Units	5,000 U.S.P. Units
Vitamin D 12.5 mcg.	500 U.S.P. Units	500 U.S.P. Units
Thiamine HCl (B-1)	2.5 mg.	2.5 mg.
Riboflavin (B-2)	2.5 mg.	2.5 mg.
Ascorbic Acid (C)	50 mg.	50 mg.
Nicotinamide	20 mg.	20 mg.
Pyridoxine HCl (B-6)	0.5 mg.	0.5 mg.
Calcium Pantothenate	5 mg.	5 mg.
Vitamin B-12 (N.F.)	2 mcg.	2 mcg.

*Price controlled by manufacturer

ONE-A-DAY ▸
PLUS IRON
100 Tablets . . . $2.39

Hudson
◂ VIODAY
PLUS IRON
100 Tablets . . . $1.55

FORMULA	VIODAY Plus Iron (Hudson)	ONE-A-DAY + Iron (Miles Labs.)
Vit. A 1.5 mg.	5,000 U.S.P. Units	5,000 U.S.P. Units
Vit. D 12.5 mcg.	500 U.S.P. Units	500 U.S.P. Units
Vit. B-1 (Thiamine)	2 mg.	2 mg.
Vit. B-2 (Riboflavin)	2.5 mg.	2.5 mg.
Vit. C (Ascorbic Acid)	50 mg.	50 mg.
Vit. B-6 (Pyridoxine)	1 mg.	1 mg.
Vit. B-12	1 mcg.	1 mcg.
Niacinamide	20 mg.	20 mg.
Pantothenic Acid	1 mg.	1 mg.
Iron (Ferrous Fumarate)	15 mg.	15 mg.

Multiple vitamin and iron formula provides simple protection against iron deficiencies.

EXCEDRIN ▸
100 Tablets . . $1.19

Hudson
◂ VANTRIN
100 Tablets . . . 79¢

FORMULA	VANTRIN (Hudson)	EXCEDRIN (Bristol Myers)
N-Acetyl-p-Aminophenol (Acetaminophen)	1.5 gr.	1.5 gr.
Salicylamide	2.0 gr.	†
Aspirin	3.5 gr.	†
Caffeine	1.0 gr.	†

†Potencies not listed by manufacturer.

Extra strength pain reliever tablets provide fast, effective, temporary relief from headache, colds, sinusitis and minor arthritic pains.

CORICIDIN ▸
100 Tablets $3.98*

Hudson
◂ PERTOC
100 Tablets $1.35

FORMULA	PERTOC (Hudson)	CORICIDIN (Schering)
Chlorpheniramine Maleate	2 mg.	2 mg.
Aspirin	5 gr.	5 gr.
Caffeine	½ gr.	½ gr.

*Price controlled by manufacturer.

An effective aid in the temporary relief of common cold symptoms, especially if taken in early stages

MORE VITAMINS, DRUGS AND TOILETRIES TO CHOOSE FROM:

BUFFERIN 100 Tablets . . . . . 98¢

Hudson
BUFFERED ASPIRIN 100 Tablets . . . . . 49¢

NO-DOZ 60 Tablets $1.00

Hudson BAN-DROWZ 100 Tablets . . . . . 89¢
To combat temporary fatigue quickly, safely. Each tablet contains same quantity of caffeine found in average cup of coffee.

CHOCKS 100 Tablets $2.34

Hudson PERX 100 Tablets $1.66
Deliciously flavored multiple vitamin tablets for children and also for adults who have difficulty swallowing tablets or capsules.

SUCARYL 1,000 Tablets $3.49*

Hudson SWEETOC 1,000 Tablets $1.60
A non-caloric sugar substitute in an effervescent tablet.
*Price controlled by manufacturer.

SARDO 8 oz. Bottle . . . . . $3.95†

Lady Hudson
BATH OIL 8 oz. Bottle . . . . . $2.25†
Hudson catalog lists hundreds of other money-saving values!
†All N.Y. residents please add appropriate sales tax to this item.

***FREE* Hudson Catalog**
included with every order. Lists hundreds of other nationally advertised vitamins, drugs and toiletries at direct-by-mail prices that save you up to 60%.

THERAGRAN ▸
100 TABLETS . . $7.45*

Hudson
◂ ADAVITE
100 TABLETS . . . $3.25

FORMULA	ADAVITE (Hudson)	THERAGRAN (Squibb)
Vitamin A Acetate	7.5 mg. (25,000 U.S.P. Units)	7.5 mg. (25,000 U.S.P. Units)
Vitamin D	10 mcg. (400 U.S.P. Units)	10 mcg. (400 U.S.P. Units)
Thiamine Mononitrate	10 mg.	10 mg.
Riboflavin	10 mg.	10 mg.
Niacinamide	100 mg.	100 mg.
Ascorbic Acid	200 mg.	200 mg.
Pyridoxine HCl	5 mg.	5 mg.
d-Calcium Pantothenate	20 mg.	20 mg.
Vitamin B-12 (U.S.P.)	5 mcg.	5 mcg.
Vitamin E	15 I.U.	15 I.U.

*Price controlled by manufacturer

A well-balanced, up-to-date therapeutic vitamin formula

GERITOL ▸
100 Tablets . . . $4.69

Hudson
◂ GERIBAN
100 Tablets . . . $2.25

FORMULA	GERIBAN TABLETS (Hudson)	GERITOL TABLETS (J. B. Williams)
Thiamine HCl (B-1)	5 mg.	5 mg.
Riboflavin (B-2)	5 mg.	5 mg.
Vitamin C	75 mg.	75 mg.
Niacinamide	30 mg.	30 mg.
Calcium Pantothenate	2 mg.	2 mg.
Pyridoxine (B-6)	0.5 mg.	0.5 mg.
Vitamin B-12 (N.F.)	3 mcg.	3 mcg.
Inositol	20 mg.	20 mg.
Methionine	25 mg.	25 mg.
Choline Bitartrate	25 mg.	25 mg.
Iron (Ferrous Sulf., dried)	50 mg.	50 mg.
Debittered Brewer's Yeast	50 mg.	50 mg.

A popular formula used for the prevention of dietary iron deficiency and as a daily dietary supplement of the B-Complex vitamins and Vitamin C

Every Household Should Have a Hudson Catalog

HUDSON VITAMIN PRODUCTS
89 Seventh Avenue, Dept. F-17,
New York, N.Y. 10011

Please send me the following products. Bill me later.

QUANTITY No. of items	PRODUCT NAME	AMOUNT
	TOTAL	
	If order is less than $3.00 — add 25c for handling. All N.Y. residents, add proper sales tax where indicated.	
	TOTAL PAYMENT	

Name _____
Print
Address _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____

SAVE MORE: Enclose full payment with order now and save all shipping charges. Same 30-day money back guarantee.

HUDSON GUARANTEE:
If not satisfied with purchase, return unused portion in original container, within 30 days, for full refund.

HUDSON VITAMINS have been awarded the McCall's Laboratory and Use-Tested Seal.

☐ **FREE CATALOG**
Check this box if you wish only a catalog at this time.

HUDSON
VITAMIN (HVP) PRODUCTS
World's leading direct-by-mail vitamin and drug company. 89 Seventh Ave., Dept. F-17, New York, 10011.

PLEASE DO NOT COPY THIS PAGE
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BUICK MOTOR DIVISION

Buick '66 Electra 225. The one car Buick owners look up to.

You can't buy a better car than a Buick.

And you can't buy a better Buick than a 1966 Buick Electra 225.

When you consider that every Buick gets the best of everything, you can imagine what the best of Buicks gets.

Not that we tune the Electra more carefully than other Buicks. Tuning, as you know, is an obsession with us. Everything on every Buick has to blend with everything else. Performance. Styling. Ride. Handling. Everything. For an idea of what we mean, think how an engine responds to a tuneup. Now think about getting the same response from the entire car. The whole, beautifully balanced, meticulously engineered car. That's Buick tuning.

Now think of a few things that make the Electra 225 what it is today. The majestic Super Turbine transmission. A massive 401-cu. in. Wildcat V-8. A suspension that takes the rough edges off the world. Luxury, luxury everywhere. (The following safety items are standard on all Buicks: front and rear seat belts, inside and outside rear view mirrors, padded dash and sun visors, back-up lights, dual-speed windshield wipers and washers. Our suggestion on the subject of seat belts? Use them.)

Money? Some think a man who can afford an Electra 225 is above thinking about money. We doubt it. (After all, thinking about money is how Electra owners get enough of it to become Electra owners.) So Electras are tuned to last. And they cost less than you might have thought in the first place. (With us, green is more than the color of envy. Or grass.) There now. Things are looking up already, aren't they?

1966 Buick. The tuned car.

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED